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WHY THE WORKERS ARE SOLD.

THE ONLY ANTIDOTE TO TREACHERY.

Representation Necessary.

THERE could be no question or need of representative institutions when every free man of the Germanic tribes could take part in the deliberations of the assembly around the sacred tree, and personally share in the control of his social organisation. Political society, indeed, has developed apace since the days when every citizen of Athens directly participated in the deliberations and government of his city-State. In common with progress in all forms of life, the social organism, from being small and simple, has become vast and complex; and the methods of ancient democracies have become in consequence impossible to-day.

Just as the general economic trend is toward specialization and the division of labour because of increased efficiency, so the complexity and vastness of modern social life demand the delegation of most deliberative, administrative, and executive functions to more or less carefully chosen representatives. In the main this is inevitable, but only the charlatan and the bureaucrat seek to force the principle to its wasteful and most dangerous extreme. Such work of social direction as can be done efficiently by the general body of workers must be done by them directly, and only where geographical, physical, or technical difficulties bar that way, should the work be done through representatives.

In trade-union and working-class organisation, therefore, true delegateship—or representation—will of necessity play a helpful and important part. But quite often owing to the present mentality of the masses, the representative is such in name only. He is allowed to assume the role of leader or boss, and is in a position to sell out his following. Why is this?

Let us face this seeming danger, and we shall see, more plainly than in most cases, that here it is literally true that knowledge is power.

Admittedly, then, one of the vexed questions of the day amongst the rank and file of working-class organisations is: "how can we guarantee that our elected representatives will not play us false?"

The pessimist—too tired to think—says despairingly that if new men are put in office they will be just as bad as the old ones, and thereupon he retires from the fray.

But is such an attitude entirely justified? There is certainly little justification for the attitude of the hero-worshipping optimist who fondly imagines that by the election of his hero for the time being, the world will be regenerated.

Nevertheless the pessimist, were he not too tired of the whole business to think, would soon see that if the constituents are unchanged in knowledge and aim, it cannot be expected that the mere change of a representative will bring about

a revolution. Something more is required. What is this something more—this guarantee against treachery?

This question arises both in trade union and political circles, and far from being more urgent owing to Parliamentary treachery, the workers have had the question driven home to them by the numerous examples of glaring treachery on the industrial field on the part of trade union officials. Certainly the matter is of urgency in both political and trade union circles, and merits attention.

Can the fidelity of the official or delegate be assured by compelling him to take a pledge, sign a contract, or forego his salary? On the other hand, are not all those who rely on such artificial guarantees leaning on a broken reed? Are they not ignoring the only guarantee worth having, the only one that can always be effective; in other words the guarantee constituted by the awakened interest and knowledge of the working class in general?

What are the facts regarding the present economic and political labour movement? We are battered on politically, via the Labour Party, by a collection of time-serving bible-bangers and job-hunters. And a precise

Ignorance ly similar gang latten on us in
Tempts trade unions also. They all
Traitors. regard delegateship as office, and since both the political and economic fields offer at present abundant opportunities for selling the workers, so in each corruption is about equally rampant. But is not the remedy the same in both cases? In neither case is technical safeguard, be it contract, promise, signed condition, control of salary, or what not, of any real use so long as the elementary safeguard is lacking.

That safeguard is SOCIALIST KNOWLEDGE.

Take illustrations from actual life. They are too numerous to need particularisation. A nominal Socialist is elected as Parliamentary representative or trade union official. His constituents are not in mass Socialists at all. They do not understand the essentials of Socialist action, that is, the conflict of interest between capitalist and labourer, the class struggle and its necessary culmination, and the vital need of avoiding like poison any alliance, compromise, or confusion with any other party. Such an elected person cannot in such conditions be a Socialist delegate. The attempt at genuine Socialist policy, indeed, would offend and alienate the bulk of his supporters. And when he sells the workers his treachery is scarcely recognised, owing to the ignorance of working-class principles among his constituents. It is ignorance, vague sympathy, and hero-worship that are the forcing beds of such treachery, yet these are deliberately fostered by pseudo working-class

Social Action organisations. When a dele-
gate so elected is "bought"
by the ruling class, it is, of
course, the ignorant electors
who are sold, and whose purchase price is the
pledge given to the "leader." This is precisely
what repeatedly happens, and by no means
least often in trade union affairs. The rank and
file are sold simply because they are blind, and
follow "leaders."

The obvious remedy is to open the eyes of the former. Hence the Socialist Party starts at the bottom. The education of the workers in the principles and policy of Socialism is the sole groundwork upon which the Socialist Commonwealth can be surely built. These principles are easily grasped, once the worker's interest and intelligence are awakened. They are being slowly grasped. But no constituency or trade union is as yet ripe for Socialist representation. The majority are at present unaware that their lives and happiness are the stakes that are played for in political action; and they have not comprehended distinctly the hopelessness of everything short of SOCIALIST political action. They do not, in fact, realise either where they are or whither they are going; and for that precise reason they can be led and sold like sheep.

But as they come to understand they cease to be sheep. As they learn the broad outlines of working-class policy they learn also to recognise and condemn every infraction of that policy. They will require their delegate to conform to these understood principles, and if he refuses, if he deserts, then the delegate alone is bought by the enemy—not the rank and file—and the traitor is branded; his career as a working-class representative is ended. His election again becomes impossible. He is replaced at the earliest opportunity.

The mere individual in such circumstances ceases to be worth much to the capitalist class, and the temptation to treachery is reduced with every step forward in proletarian class consciousness. The more clearly the future is shown by working class knowledge and organisation to be with the workers, the more will their goodwill and support be worth to the delegate as against the blandishments of the exploiters.

Spread Technical safeguards of various
the kinds may, and probably will, be
Light. used also, but they are not worth discussing beside the overwhelmingly important and sufficient guarantee in the workers' knowledge and organisation.

That this elementary fact is so often overlooked is no mere accident. The charlatan prospers best amidst obscurity and ignorance. For the rest, any constituency, political or other, gets in the main the representation it deserves. Only a Socialist constituency can

have an effective Socialist delegate, since it alone can choose, understand, usefully support, and intelligently control such a representative.

Consequently, in revolutionary working-class politics, the education of the workers in the elements of Socialism is the surest and safest guarantee for the fidelity of their representatives—in fact it is the only sure and safe guarantee. It is, moreover, impossible for the Socialist society of the future to be realised until this task of elementary Socialist education has been accomplished.

F. C. W.

SOLD AGAIN.

EXACTLY twelve months after the last bit of treachery, the slaves on the G.W. and other S. Wales lines have been compelled to risk starvation rather than go on working under the hellish conditions that prevail on those lines to-day. And once again the men's leaders have betrayed them into the hands of the enemy.

We will glance at the facts which have led up to this latest piece of railway treachery. We find a big dispute on at Dublin, and Driver James, of the G.W., refuses "to handle tainted goods" in which line of action he was quite in accordance with trade union principles.

Reynolds follows, and others follow them—not only on account of Dublin, but because of the vile conditions on their own job.

Under present conditions, railways, being the most rapid means of transport, must be kept working smoothly or there will be "trouble." The masters realise this quite plainly, so at the first manifestation of "unrest" among railway men, they and their "Labour" hangers-on use every means in their power to quell such "unrest."

Amongst railwaymen the ideas relating to labour questions are very conservative, and they believe that a select body of men should conduct their affairs for them. As their time is spent between work and bed, they think these "leaders" free to give their whole time to the study of the wants of their comrades, will be better able to fight their battles for them.

The "leaders," therefore, are endowed with a trust, and are the servants of their comrades, from whom they mostly draw handsome salaries.

They should, then, stand by their members through thick and thin. But what are the facts of the case?

In the present instance the "brain department of directing ability," deeming it prudent not to put their foot down at once, let things run for a day or two to see what the trusted "leaders" were going to do. And Mr. J. H. Thomas, the "leader" of something like a quarter of a million railway men, rose to the occasion in traditional style. He said ("Daily Herald," 4.12.13):

"Under no consideration must the men stop work. No support will be given by the Union to any unauthorised action."

The companies, of course, no sooner saw this "green light" than they were "right away." At ordinary times they refuse to recognise the men's unions, but now they know what they have to deal with they are only too willing to negotiate with Williams, Thomas & Co.

But did these so-called leaders stand by their members? Not likely! As before, they signed them away and brought peace to the railway bosses.

Let us look at the "agreement" that the men are now tied to, as reported in "Lloyd's Newspaper," December 12th, 1913.

(1) No reinstatement of James and Reynolds.

(2) The men's accredited representatives stated that they were authorised by the men on strike to express regret that they had taken such action, and gave an assurance that the men would not take similar action in future. They also agreed to recommend the men to subscribe from 1s. to 2s. 6d. to the Swindon Victoria Hospital.

(3) No guaranteed week's payment to be made to the men during the period of the strike.

(4) The men to resume work immediately.

Mr. J. H. Thomas was the leading spirit in bringing the strikers to a sense of their real position, and the Company to a compromise," said our contemporary, while the "Daily Chronicle"

(8.12.1913) observed: "At Swansea, etc., the drivers and firemen strongly resented the terms of peace, and were not disposed to go back."

And there we have it. Sold again, just as the N.E. men were twelve months ago.

"The net result is, James and Reynolds are no nearer reinstatement," said "Lloyd's News," "and the strikers forfeit a week's pay, and also a small fine for charity."

We have pointed out for years that this Lib-Lab crew are only out to bolster up capitalism and to lead the workers to disaster, and this is but another added to the long list of instances that confirm the worst we have said of them. But who are to blame? If the rank and file of the railway workers only took the trouble to understand things for themselves they would soon bring these upstart traitors to heel. It is only the ignorance of the men that could permit their paid servant, Mr. J. H. Thomas, to give expression to the contemptuous remark that (I quote the "Daily Citizen," 15.12.13): "He does not subscribe to the policy that the leaders should do what they are told by the rank and file. If a leader, when considering matters of importance to the welfare of the men, had to ask himself: 'Is this popular or unpopular with the men?' the question of leadership would be reduced to an absolute farce."

The logic of this is quite irresistible. It is simply saying in so many words that he who controls is boss, and he, Thomas, is boss. It is saying as plainly any man can, the servant is he who obeys the orders of others, and he, Thomas, is not the servant of those who pay him, and is therefore not going to do as they tell him.

Mr. Thomas is not alone in this sentiment. At a big meeting of T.U. "leaders" it was decided that nothing could be done concerning affairs in Dublin until the democratic (!) traditions of British Trade Unionism had been followed by submitting the matter to the rank and file. But steady up! What is the meaning of this peculiar document which (according to the "Daily Herald," 10.12.13) was sent to a N.U.R. delegate?

"Unity House, 6.12.13."

"Dear Sir,—Special Conference of T.U.C. and Dublin Deputes."

"Two or three of the Delegates have written me asking if they would have to attend the Conference which is to be held on Tues. next. I have, therefore, to inform you that the E.C. have decided to send 13 of their own members to the Conference, and it will not be necessary for you to attend. I send this intimation to you in case you are in any way anxious."

"Yours faithfully,"

"J. E. WILLIAMS."

Once more, only their own kidney may attend in order that things shall go their way. And what was the position most of them took up! It was to keep their underlings at work and let the starving Irishmen "get on with it." Hardly a word against the master class—oh, no!

Again, as in 1912, 1911, and 1907 the railway men have been tricked by their "leaders." And nothing is more certain than that they will be tricked again and yet again until they have learnt to look after their own interests instead of entrusting that vitally important work to others.

The railway workers, like other workers, must realise that unless they understand the position, unless they control their own organisations, trusting to their own intelligence, however small their knowledge may be, striking every blow themselves; unless they do their own thinking, surrendering power into the hands of none, but choosing from among their number—not bosses to prate to them of "unauthorised action," and to tell that they must "under no circumstances stop work"—but servants to carry out their instructions: until they do all these things they will always be sold out by their "leaders," because the latter are looking for fat jobs and emoluments from the masters.

J. SEVIER.

A Happy New Year to all our working class friends! May you exult surplus value from every pore from one end of the year to the other. Strangely enough, that will keep you happy, and if it doesn't make you prosperous, look what it does for master and our country.

"MALINGERERS."

It is in the nature, apparently, of the mass of our class to be unable to recognise the open and brutal insults showered upon by their owners. Servility—the legacy of ages of slavery, an assiduously fostered belief in their own inferiority, coupled with a supreme ignorance of politics, has developed upon them a skin which, metaphorically, rivals in toughness that of a crocodile. Drilled in their infancy to worship in humility such fetiches as kings, dukes, masters and pastors, and the rest of the malignant growths which have sprung from the institution of private ownership, and having had as far as is possible, all knowledge other than that supplied forcibly by their owners for the purposes of the latter, denied them, it is only natural that the instinct that readily perceives, keenly feels, and fiercely resents an insult, however conveyed, should be lacking entirely or covered with the skin aforesaid.

That there are many who resent such insults as that offered by the clauses in the Insurance Act which relate to "malingering" is probably true, but their resentment is largely that of the "grumble and pay" variety, and carries no weight politically. It is, further, merely a type of resentment that the scheming mouthpieces of capitalism know well how to soothe by assuring the frowning slaves that such clauses protect the honest and diligent working-man from the waster. Such added insult to our class is usually received with applause by the hard-headed sons of toil and tears who know themselves to belong to the former category.

But it is the purpose of this article to try and show those complacent dupes, whose help we demand in ridding our class of the parasites that batten upon us, a few of the insults flung at them and the reason why.

In the first place, a few definitions in order to help a possible lame dog over the style.

(1) Maligner=One who feigns illness to avoid work.

(2) Politics=The art of Government.

(3) Parliament=An assemblage of the governing class (or their agents) who meet to discuss and enact laws for the maintenance of their position as a class of owners of the means of life.

(4) Working Class=Those who have no means of existence other than by the sale of their mental and physical energies.

Bearing in mind our last definition the gentle reader whose case it fits will recognise that his economic condition is exactly the opposite of that of the class referred to in definition three. That class we know as the capitalist class. It is to them or their agents that we of the working class must go for permission to work to live. They will grant this permit only on such terms as will ensure to them a continuance of the monopoly of the means of life. That is to say, the labours of the working class, using the raw material, tools, and implements owned by the capitalists, must result in an amount of wealth in excess of what it takes to keep the working class physically capable of continuing the wealth-producing processes.

Reasoning thus, it will be obvious that: (1) The working class produce all wealth by operating the means of production that are owned by the capitalist class. (2) That this wealth is never the property of those whose labours produce it, but of the owners of the means, i.e., the capitalist class. (3) The owning class must exercise governing powers over their slaves in order to obtain and keep as much of this wealth for themselves as is compatible with the maintenance of an efficient working class.

Now our benevolent owners, while enjoining upon us the virtues (?) of contentment, gratitude, thrift, etc., etc. *ad nauseam*, are never content with the surplus-value we are forced to pour into their greedy maws, would scorn to practice domestic thrift themselves, and are in no degree grateful to us. On the contrary, they are ever concerned to extract more and more surplus wealth from our labours by increasing our efficiency and devising means to prevent their slaves from avoiding work. Workers exist but for one thing in the capitalist estimation—to work!—to produce surplus-value. Hence the fearful anxiety of the capitalist class that we do not malingere.

JOTTINGS.

THE recent allegations of atrocities on rubber plantations made by an Englishman to the British Government bid fair to add even Putumayo. This gentleman states that "the peonage system, as it now operates in the Beni, Acre, and other districts, is more cruel and more destructive of human life than the old system of slave-owning and slave hunting."

Shades of Lincoln and Wilberforce! One man is said to have obtained his initial capital for exploitation work from the sale of two women and two boys taken from the Putumayo. As usual, British capital is involved.

Since the above disclosures were made the Government have drafted a Bill to put down slavery existing in connection with British limited companies abroad. Dealing in slaves is defined as "any sale, purchase, barter, or exchange of slaves." This Bill, however, only applies to coloured labour, hence the "sale, purchase, barter, and exchange" of white slaves, both at home and abroad, will continue as heretofore. Rule Britannia!

When slavery was abolished (!) in 1834 the sum of twenty millions was paid to the slave owners as compensation for the loss of their slaves! Yet slavery has existed since then and exists to-day. Similarly to-day there is a movement which proposes to indemnify the slave owners (capitalists) against loss on the ground that "the collective body has a conscience too tender for confiscation!"

Notwithstanding the fact that the requirements of the working class necessitate a complete change in the system of production, we yet find a so-called working-class organisation wishing to pay for the chains with which the workers are shackled! I refer to the Labour Party.

Speaking of slavery, the recent exhibition of victims of industrial slavery at Caxton Hall goes to show that it is quite as horrible in this country, in proportion to the supposed difference in the degree of "civilisation." Yet it is really astonishing with what ignorance people (especially the "educated" ones) seek to explain or excuse its existence.

The Countess of Malmesbury, who was present at the exhibition referred to relieved herself of the following:

"But for the grace of God, there stand we. Every one of us on this platform, and those of us who are better dressed, but for the grace of God would be making chains, making boots, or perhaps worse."

The Countess may, or may not, be interested to know that only by the foolishness of those poor victims of the sweater's greed it is made possible for "those of us who are better dressed" (meaning the aristocracy, of course) to visit an exhibition in order to ascertain, out of curiosity, maybe, what is meant by "sweating." Not "by the grace of God" are they in the position of onlookers, but because the proceeds of the robbery of those objects of passing interest have placed them there. Not "by the grace of God" are these poor victims "making chains, and making boots, and even worse," but in order to satisfy the rapacious greed of the flesh and blood devouring capitalists. Hence slavery, destitution, and disease. Hence exhibitions for the robbers to while away an idle hour.

Perhaps we dwell too much on the dismal side of things. What we need is a world tour to buck us up (never mind who pays), then perhaps we should see "our" empire in a different perspective. For has not our Will Crooks returned from his "tour of Empire" filled with pride (and swank) that England is the proud possessor of such vast dominions beyond the seas? Says he: "You have no idea what hospitality is like until you have been round the world. We used to begin drinking the health of the King and Empire at 7.30 a.m. It was a common thing to have seven meals a day and light refreshment." (Oh, you guts! You know what pal Hardie means by a "glorified pig trough.")

A. E. J.

"We drank His Majesty's health and prosperity to the Empire in tea, coffee, cocoa and every imaginable liquid."

"Truth, Bill! you've been getting it and no mistake. And I always thought you were strictly 'tee-tee,' too! Still, it's well to know which side your bread is buttered on, isn't it? One can almost hear Bow Bells chiming: 'Turn again William, Lord Mayor of London!'"

"If putting a piece of paper into a tin box would effect a revolution, you can bet your boots that the State (i.e., the bosses) wouldn't supply the box." ("Daily Herald," 21.11.13)

Which is quite forgetting the fact that the ballot box is a necessary of the present system, and is provided by the masters as a receptacle for the votes of the working class after they have been kidded into voting for them. When this method no longer suits their purposes they may endeavour to change it.

The recent case wherein a Staffordshire clergyman of 52 was charged with immoral conduct towards a young girl, but serves to show that the emissaries of God are just as liable to deviate from the "straight but narrow path" of righteousness as anyone else. Indeed, they are very frequent offenders in this respect. Hardly a week passes but what some pious but erring shepherd of the Lord is brought to the front to explain his lapse from the path of virtue.

Usually the details disclosed are of a most disgusting character. Though it is possible to account for the various emotions by explaining the conditions out of which they originate yet one can hardly be blamed for electing to judge them by the same standards they are so fond of judging others by—especially if only for the lying statements they make from time to time to the effect that sexual promiscuity would be one of the chief attributes of a Socialist system of society. If, before setting out on his self-imposed task of cleaning the Augean stables of the public mind, the Bishop of Kensington had commenced operations a little nearer home, he no doubt would have discovered plenty of material upon which to confine his attention.

Prominence is always given in the election manifestos of those candidates who aspire to municipal honours in the "Labour" interest, to the question of rate reduction. At the Dublin Housing Inquiry held recently to enquire into the condition of slum tenements it was ascertained that twelve councillors were owners of slum property—proving which class it is that stands to benefit by "rate reduction."

Dean Ingle has discovered that pain is really a blessing in disguise. Says he: "We must not shirk pain. It is part of God's order of things to show man his faults and blunders. It is a sentinel to warn us that something is wrong and therefore is beneficial." So when the hired bullies of the capitalists steal up behind and swat you once on the head you must believe it is all for your own good—has a Divine sanction, in fact.

There is another point of view, however. Seeing that half the pain in the world is inflicted by the operations of greedy capitalists, and is therefore preventable: seeing also that in the category of pain must be included disease, poverty and misery; these crumbling pillars of a dying Church assuredly stand self-accused of impotence (and ignorance) when they seek to justify its existence by attributing it to the vagaries of a "Divine Will."

TOM SALA

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Readers will be interested to know that a reverend gentleman has at last applied to our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion." We hope to be able to publish our opponent's letter in our next issue, and can promise our readers an interesting discussion.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions for the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The *SOCIALIST STANDARD* is published on the last Saturday in each month.

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THURS.,



JAN. 1, 1914.

TILLET AND DUBLIN.

The "Daily Herald" has been left in the charge of Ben Tillett whilst George Lansbury has gone to the States (hunting for fresh finance, no doubt), and the paper has been full of denunciation of the trade union leaders. Ben Tillett, true to his reputation, has played two parts. One in the "Herald," of Suffragetteism and Sabotage, and another at the Conference of Labour leaders on Dublin. Sitting alongside the other misleaders of Labour he moved:

"That this Conference deplores and condemns the unfair attacks made by men inside the Trade Union movement upon British Trade Union officials; it affirms its confidence in those officials who have been so unjustly assailed and its belief in their ability to negotiate an honourable settlement if assured of the effective support of all who are concerned in the Dublin dispute."

Some of the rebels (!) are murmuring: "One damned leader in place of another!"

The painting trade is rather slack just now, otherwise Ben might have been in great demand as a whitewasher—look at the experience he has had. Ask Bottomley.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

Whilst Ben was defending Havelock Wilson, J. E. Williams and others, some of whom Larkin accuses of "foul" and black conspiracy, it may be recalled that he is quite willing to sit with them as one of the governors of Ruskin College. Since Ben became one of the bosses, "Justice," (of Ben's party) has been silent about that organisation. Some day, no doubt, the "rebel" readers of the "Daily Herald" will realise how they were duped.

When the Omnibus trusts slaves were betrayed was it because of the advertising contract with the paper? Did the large advertising bill of Lipton's overweight margarine cause the editor to practically ignore the supplying of rotten food for consumption by East End children? The paper just mentioned the fine.

Once upon a time the "Herald" bitterly attacked the Prudential, but shortly afterwards a four column advertisement appeared. Now that there is great unrest amongst the Prudential's slaves no mention of it is made in this "Labour" paper. Can Ben explain?

SOCIALIST (!) UNITY.

The International Socialist Bureau has convened meetings for the purpose of uniting the Independent Labour Party and the British Socialist Party. For our part we cannot see why they should not unite. Two parties composed of such similar anti-Socialist elements should have linked up long ere this. Mr. H. M. Hyndman and Mr. Robert Blatchford will undoubtedly find many supporters for their "large Navy" proposals among the ranks of the Labour leaders. The condition of unity is that the B.S.P. shall join the Labour Party. That would be a very good thing from our point of view, for it would totally destroy the last tottering claim of the

former organisation to be a Socialist body. The way would then be clearer for us of the Socialist Party, and therefore clearer and easier for the working class to follow to their historic goal—Socialism.

The B.S.P.'s advice to the workers to vote Tory has now been officially adopted by the I.L.P., and Mr. Keir Hardie gloats over the help the Linkthorpe branch recently afforded to the Tory candidate. This is sufficient for the day, of course, and no doubt when the Labour Party has scooped the B.S.P., and as the time for a General Election draws nearer, the Liberal dog will rehabilitate itself in the estimation of its unified tail, even unto that most recalcitrant hair, H.M.H.—provided, of course, that his services to the cause of anti-Socialist unity are properly rewarded by adoption for a safe Liberal constituency.

THE LANDLORD'S PARADISE.

The sale of the Covent Garden estate by the Duke of Bedford for several million pounds to the well-known financial magnate and Tory M.P., Mr. Mallaby Deeley, disposes of all the Liberals' claims as to bringing the land back to the people. So harmless are Lloyd George's taxes, and so empty his vote-catching vapourings, that this astute financial prince laughs at the very idea of the danger to property, and calmly ventures millions upon its stability—a safe enough guide for anybody.

But besides showing the utter fraud of the Liberal Land Campaign in a peculiarly convincing manner, the stupendous transaction is interesting for that it records the passing of the aristocratic property-owner as such, and the rising of the commercial king.

BY THE WAY.

The official report of the Aisgill disaster, issued by the Board of Trade Inspector, was the subject of an interesting article in the "Weekly Despatch" (Nov. 30, 1913). In dealing with the inspector's remarks in regard to the driver crawling round his engine for the purpose of oiling the writer says:

"On the type of engine that Caudle was driving drivers have been leaving their cabs and going round the frame of the engine regularly for the last three years, because they have been forced to do so from the circumstances of the case."

This is necessary owing to an alteration in the construction of the engine. And again: "There has been endless trouble between the Midland and their drivers on this question during the past few years. One driver who refused to leave his cab, and so let his axles run hot, was reduced to a lower class engine, and is now in receipt of less wages as a result of refusing to take the risks that Caudle took."

"The Board of Trade is ignorant of these things, of course. It always is."

All is now well! For the "Daily News" of Oct. 10th last informs us that Mr. Geo. Barnes, Labour M.P., says:

"From contact with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I am acquainted with the sympathy he feels for the agricultural labourers, and the hope he entertains of alleviating their lot. . . . I can only say that if the Government legislates on the lines and in accord with the spirit of his speech at Swindon, Mr. Lloyd George will deserve and receive my whole-hearted support, and in my opinion, that of the whole Labour Party."

From the above it would appear that Mr. G. Barnes is easily satisfied (his own bread being pretty well buttered), and it also serves to show how short his memory is. When Mr. Lloyd George was "Budget booming," and swanking the workers, he told us that:

"We are raising money by means of the Budget for the purpose of assisting our great friendly societies to provide for the sick and the widows and orphans. (Limehouse, July 30th, 1909.)"

Perhaps Mr. Barnes can tell us where the sympathy of the Chancellor for the widows and orphans can now be found.

THE CYNIC.

On a dismal wet evening, at the close of a wet day, I sat at my table courting inspiration, which is one of the things one has to do to provide copy for the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, you know. Presently, without warning, the door opened, and I had a visitor. He was a lank, gaunt man, with greasy, lank locks and a shabby jacket of velvet.

He came with two lanky strides, and sat on the corner of my table, with his feet dangling before the fire and his elbow threatening the bottle.

"I suppose you remember the Pillman, Boss?" he queried, and in reply to the silent eloquence of my astonished stare he went on: "No! Why, there was a little skit in that rag of your people's: 'Sugar Coated,' by 'The Pillman.' Don't remember? Well, no matter, sir. [sings] Blow, blow, blow, blo-o-o-w, thou win-t-r-i-e-e wind. Thou art not so unkind—as ma-a-a-n's ingra-ti-tude. Christ! and it was so blasted sarcastic, too. 'God's in his heaven, all's right with the world.' Browning says so, and its very cheering to a gentleman who has to get his two pen'orth on the knocker on a wet day with his toes out to the blasted weather." He dropped his eyes to his steaming boots and I saw that his figure of speech described them approximately.

"Ah, well!" he went on, tugging some of the stuffing from his various pockets, "God hedges us in in his wondrous way, and I say with Job and other philosophers, what's it got to do with the end of the ble-e-e-ding world? Good old sport, Job. I used to wonder how he came to be in the whale's belly. Thought perhaps he was an insurance man who had been trying to keep the wet out by putting some in, as we death men do when we get the chance [his eyes dreamily resting on the bottle, I silently pushed it toward him] Oh-h! thanks! didn't mean that—and knocked at the wrong door—the Ever Open Joor. But our dear brother in God, the Rev. Newton Marshall, says in 'Lloyd's' December 7th, that Job longed 'to see God face to face.' 'Oh, that I knew where I might find him,' wailed Jobey, 'that I might come even to his seat!'"

And so wailing, Job went whaling. Beyond where the big sprat's tonsils meet. Searching and peeping, anxiously seeking, To find his celestial master's seat.

We all know what happened, boss. Jobey when he found he hadn't got to heaven wept a bit.

And with dolorous echoes made the marble halls roar; But the whale wasn't musical and quickly had enough of it, And went and spued old Job up on his native foreshore.

"The Rev. Newton H. Marshall, M.A., Ph. D., Baptist Chapel, Heath Street, Hampstead, did the sermon in this issue. It is good for the soul to read it. He asks: 'How do the limitations of life do us good?' and says 'a few illustrations will help us to see how God hedges us in to himself and to duty, and saves us from Satan even by the things that thwart us. God has hedged us in with poverty. Let us thank God for the hedge with which he has encircled us.'"

I often think this happy boy would be a most ungrateful hound.

If he did not dance with joy to think the Lord has hedged him round,

With three-quarters of a pound a week, I know the place that I should go to if Old Nick my photo found,

And in it saw my rumty-tum like unto master's full and round,

And my god-like front like parson's—sleek. But when Beelzebub comes nosing with his waggon in his hand,

Thinking he would catch me dozing in the wine-shops of the Strand,

I laugh and give his nose a tweak, And shout hoop la! hi diddle diddle! as in his face bare toes I twiddle—

And you should watch his cheek. Then I hups and tells him where some fatter quarry he may find,

Some pious shepherd whom the Lord has hedged about so wondrous kind,

With more of this accursed tin that lets old Nick come sneaking in

Each waking hour than I get in a week."

[The stranger was so pleased with the facts as he had stated them that he was moved to go through a few joyous steps upon the hearthrug before proceeding.] Oh, I'm a cynic, you know. But to our parson. 'Let us take the economic hedge. We would all like to do what we like—to take holidays, to go everywhere and enjoy everything.' Christ, how close he gets to human nature there! 'But God has hedged us in.' And at the same time edged us out. 'Suppose this barrier were suddenly removed. Suppose for a year we could all do what we liked—live on game and French pastry and strawberries and cream, ride in motor cars and royal trains, wear jewellery, and climb mountains—at the end of the year the nation would be bankrupt.' Of course it would, not only economically bankrupt but morally bankrupt, too. Its only not doing what we want to and doing what we do not want to that saves us from the Official Receiver on one hand, and from Satan—himself a sort of official receiver (of bankrupt souls)—on the other.

Old Nick and th' official receiver, Were down in the dumps one day, O, For Bill Bailey had stuck to the lever, While his boss on the Alps was away, O. So biz both on earth and in blazes (They're different places, you know, O) Was in that most aggravating of phrases Which men call adjectivally slow, O.

'How's business with you, Satey?' asked O.R. 'Ab-so lute ly rotten. Really, I'm thinking of letting the fires out and clearing out of the business altogether. You see he is a capitalist Satan, and wants to show a profit.'

'Sing a song for sixpence, a pocket full of rye, Five and twenty workmen slaving in a sty; What the hell they do it for God Almighty knows: If they only knew it they'd be better off with I.

'The secret of good poetry, you know, O.R., is bad grammar.'

'But even that didn't keep you solvent in the matter of rhyme. Now listen to me:

'The boss is out in Egypt with ladies frail but sunny,

His Mary's with her little lamb, trying to catch his money;

His wife is doing Bond Street, spending pots of cash,

But Bill Bailey keeps on slaving so the show won't smash.

That's the position perfectly, both poetically and economically, worse luck.'

O.N. scratched his ear with his tail, sir, O.R. swore as he would if he could,

But having no tail to his name, sir, Why he swore as he could if he would.

'The devil made a note in his book, which was playing it low on a pal. 'What's that?' said O.R. 'Only a little matter of accountancy, dear,' was the reply. 'Oh dear! I had to do it, I couldn't help it.' 'That's how you all do me,' grumbled O.N., expunging the record.

'Oh, the parson was right when he said in his wisdom,

It's not doing the things that they should do That saves them from me and the fires that blist'ern

But not doing the things that they would do, 'That's not bad,' said the O.R. 'Now I'll have a try. For the parson also told me what saves the boss from me.

If Bill Bailey would only flee From work to the Alps and French pastree, You'd soon be frizzling Bill Bailey,

And I'd soon have his boss in bankruptce.'

'Gosh, you wouldn't!' said O.N. 'I'd get 'em both!'

'How's that, sir?' screamed the O.R. 'Why I'd get Bill because he'd have broken through God's hedges and was doing what he would like to do, and then I'd get the boss because he also would have broken through God's hedges and I would be doing what he would like to do now, if only God would let him.'

'What's that, Satey?'

'Why, working, of course.'

'Ha, ha! would he? Did the parson tell you that?'

'No, he forgot; but the boss did when I took hold of his ear while he was eating French pastry on the Swiss mountains. I said:

Come along with me, you jolly little man, You're doing just what you would like to do; I'll find you a seat in the frying pan, Where your blisters will bust with a juicy shoo! shoo!

'Well, did you get him, Nicky?' asked O.R. 'Na-a-a-w. He snivelled:

O, Nicky, you dear, I am not you're man, I'd sooner be slaving like a nig, bo-oo, I'd rather be sweating till the sweat drops ran. Go away, you naughty old pig, shoo! shoo!'

'You mug, Satey, he didn't mean his sweat drops. Didn't it strike you who he'd rather be sweating? I've had a lot of them through my hands, and I know something about it.' 'Well, a gentleman has to take a gentleman's word, you know. But he put me onto a good thing, for he told me:

There's a chap down Staffordshire way, Who preaches and prays for his pay, He wrestled with sin on the vestry floor Till his shirt was wet and his knees were sore,

Ab! but he liked to do it—and—therefore The bishop has taken his breeches away.

Like the bishop's cheek to interfere with my business, but I went down to see about it and it was all right. Well, ta-ta, I think I smell Sonny burning.'

Having dismissed his puppets, my friend the stranger returned to his newspaper. 'Or take the moral hedge. Supposing God had not given us a conscience. Conscience, remember, is the unseen policeman, judge, preacher, guardian angel that every man has with him. Suppose suddenly the moral hedge that hedges us in were removed—suppose [Suppose, suppose, suppose—what a rotten style some of these M.A.'s have!] suddenly conscience refused to act, or was withdrawn. The result would be hell upon earth.'

"O, Lord of these Arcadian shores, Where peace and plenty reign supreme, Where folk are full up to the jaws With milk and honey and ice-cream,

Where weekly wages twice a week Are paid by cherubimic bosses Who give their workers all they seek, And gladly pocket all the losses;

O, Lord of these Arcadian shores, Hear this my prayer!

I ask, O Lord, on beaded knees, That thou wilt keep my private please— Man wide awake and to his duty; Likewise my inward person (he's A lazy swine) and if you please, Buck up that ever sleeping beauty—

My guardian angel.

And kindly give my unseen judge In his solar plexus a ten-ton ridge, And ask him to keep his eye skinned;

For I'm feeling rather reckless, Lord, And should I sling my conscience overboard I fear I shan't stop till I've sinned

Something awful.

I think I should crack a crib or two 'Neath the nose of the visible man in blue.

I'm not sure I should n't murder My mother if she wasn't dead already; And if I really got what I call 'beady,' I might get a little bit fuder.

"And heaven knows, boss, what would happen if the master's conscience went on strike. They might adulterate our wittles, And knock our wages down like skittles, And then proceed to rub it in

Unto the tune of Dab-rin.

"Which isn't hell on earth, boss. I'm a per-cynic. Here's some more: 'When we are shut in we cannot wander over the field outside, but we can do spade-work in the little garden.'

"Though some of us are raising it, yet everybody's doing it, Spade-work in the garden of the Lord; But the funny thing about it is how many strange appliances

A helping hand in spade-work may afford. The porter is a steaming hot beneath his porter's shoulder knot,

The blacksmith is a digging with a hammer. The parson with his chorofona cuts the pace out weery wain,

And the navy is a trawling with a trawner. The policeman with the plates of meat, who

does his work so very neat, With his baton turns the green sod over, While the soldier with his bag o' net will give the Lord his little bit,

Perhaps before the Dublin strike is over. But whatever the blooming tool may be, you never will such spade work see

Or such profuse perspiring outside Hades, As when master at the party calls out 'nap' so bluff and hearty,

And does it with the blooming ace of spades. Isn't it blasted sarcastic? It's the mood, you know. Gas gone, boss?"

He was gone when I had fed the hungry metre, and I noticed that the bottle was empty—which was perhaps why a mellow voice on the staircase trilled:

"Does anyone want to put a penny on the baby? A-e-o-i-e-o-o;

Does anyone want to put a tanner on his lady? In the midst of life we're in death, you know. A-e-o-i-e-o-o,

Come rain, come hail, come frost, come snow, Come heav'n above, come hell below,

Come coughs, colds, corns, croup, chicken-pox, measles, biliousness, depression of spirit, headache, heartache, St. Vitus's dance, the bleeding gripes, or any other distressing disorder consequent upon the blasted capitalist system of so-so,

On the knock knock knocker I Tango, A-E-O-I-E-O-O.

BILL BAILEY.

ANARCHY AND WASTE.

"The only useful class in society—the working class—even if its modest requirements were doubled, would not tax the world's resources in ten years to the extent that capitalist anarchy does in one."

It has been suggested that the above paragraph, appearing in the "S.S." for October last, may be regarded by some as an exaggeration. While it may be difficult to prove the actual figures, or even to obtain any accurate data as to the extent of capitalist spoliation and waste, those who have at all studied the methods of capitalism will readily agree that the statement, for a rough estimate, is within the mark.

Every capitalist concern, existing as it does for the sole purpose of profit, and forced into competition with rival concerns, does not stop to consider the effects of its exploitation of the natural resources or of the working class, if such consideration checks the flow of profits.

Wherever Nature, unassisted by man, has provided wealth to be easily acquired, the wild scramble has not slackened until extinction became imminent, have compelled collective regulation through the State. The wild buffalo of North America was only saved from utter extinction by the removal of the largest remaining herd to Canada, and the enactment of stringent laws for their protection.

Mr. Chiozza Money says: "Trade has been provided with weapons which it uses very much as a little boy uses a new pen-knife. There could be no apter parallel to illustrate what ignorant men have done with the world's timber, and its oil, and its ore, and its great tracts of virgin fertility. But the folly and waste could not proceed far without the price being paid."

Rubber was a case in point, which neatly illustrates the general case. The world's rubber was wasted and spoiled and ignored in a sane and bloodshed. Then rubber grew scarce and prices rose to famine point.

"As to timber, the world is using it much more quickly than it is growing it, and we have the extraordinary fact that the United States of America, which had some of the finest forests in the world, has hacked away at them so rapidly that some sorts of wood are scarce in her vast territory. Mr. Roosevelt's Conservative Commission was a recognition of the folly with which our friends across the Atlantic, who think they are clever because they have scraped an easily won natural wealth together in ugly piles, have played ducks and drakes with their resources."

These three paragraphs, from the pen of a capitalist defender, are stronger in their condemnation than even the rough estimate quoted above. Perhaps no better example of capitalist waste

exists than coal. In the absence of reliable figures we can yet safely assume that millions of tons are wasted annually on war and the preparations for war. The building and manœuvring of war ships, the manufacture of guns and projectiles—all for the protection of the private property owned by the capitalist class. Nearly one hundred millions is the estimated expenditure on the armed forces for the current year in this country alone. Every two day nine miners are killed and 892 injured in the getting of coal. Life and limb and millions of tons of the coal they are sacrificed for are consumed on the altar of private property. Yet when the north wind doth blow, many a working-class family huddle in their rags beside a fireless hearth!

But this savage appropriation and waste of wealth is not half the tale. For while production is carried on for profits, only to be realised on the world's market, capitalist anarchy blindly oversteps the demand, in one direction or another, all the time. For over-production the capitalist has but one sure remedy, sabotage. When harvests have been plentiful, so have thanksgiving services; but what the market could not absorb has been destroyed or allowed to rot, in order to maintain prices. As Mr. Chiozza Money wrote of the Brazilian coffee crop: "When it is too big it is incontinent reduced by the simple process of burning." The same applies to wheat, as Marx so ably pointed out in "Value, Price, and Profit."

The "Daily Chronicle" (24.10) related what it described as an amusing feature of attempts made to corner cotton. Large consignments of cotton arrived at Liverpool from America. After warehousing they were re-shipped and sent back, it being expected that in due time the same cotton would find its way back to Liverpool. Even then it was doubtful whether it might not make yet another journey across the Atlantic. Such cases as these may be isolated, but they hold a lamp to the purpose of industry. For if man works only to satisfy his needs, it is the height of folly to do the same work three or four times over.

If the working man, not wishing to be unemployed, spins out his job, that's Ca'anny. But the Stock Exchange gambler can play "shuttlecock across the Atlantic" with the produce of labour, and he is hailed as a benefactor—he makes work!

How much of the drudgery performed by the working class is really necessary, is best shown by an examination of the numbers engaged in useless and unproductive work. The first and largest section of these is all those workers who are engaged in the production of, not only the luxuries consumed by the ruling class, but also their necessities. For parasitism cannot be justified on any grounds. All those engaged in waiting upon or catering for the drones are doing useless work.

Standing armies and navies, and the police, together with customs officers, inspectors, and hundreds of thousands of clerks, tallying and writing dunning letters, are useless.

From the Lord Chancellor to the barrister's clerk, lawyers do nothing to help production. The clergy are worse than useless: they are kept out of the wealth produced by the working class. Their function—a poisonous one—being to shackle the minds of the workers with superstitions that should have died a natural death one hundred years ago, had the ruling class prized honesty as they do profits.

Politicians, from the Prime Minister to the Labour leader, and in their wake all the vast army of publishers, printers, touts and canvassers engaged in the issuing of current political rubbish, are productive of nothing beyond the return of the capitalist class to power and the subsequent crop of disgraceful libel actions that invariably follows each general election. Although the latter might well teach the workers one useful lesson: the value of political power in the estimation of those who seek it.

Under a sane and rational system of society, where the means of life were owned and controlled by the people, available information as to goods produced would be desirable. But this work would be next to nothing in comparison with the absurd lengths to which advertising is carried to-day. Goods are advertised, not to acquaint customers with their existence, but to capture the trade of rivals.

The President of the Incorporated Society of

Advertising Consultants says that "Britain's yearly advertising bill reaches a hundred millions." Their boasted claim that a great industry has been built up, is only the confession of another shoddy capitalist ideal. A complete industry employing one hundred thousand workers, besides contributory trades, engaged in defacing town and countryside with hideous proclamations that some particular ointment, pill, or soap is better than all others.

But this annual bill of Great Britain's by no means covers the amount of human energy that is wasted in over-reaching and over-lapping in the general scramble for a share in the world's market. The revelations in the Krupp case show that in China—and in other parts of the world—associations exist that, with a great outlay of money, fill columns of the native Press with attacks on the traders of other countries.

All the yelling and hammering on the Stock Exchange is energy wasted; company promoters, brokers and engineers, insurance company staffs, and those of benefit societies, are useless products of a rotten system, that advances in complexity almost as rapidly as it does in corruption.

The useless toil inflicted upon the many becomes more apparent with the development of the system. The utmost corners of the earth are ransacked, the heat of the tropics and the cold of the Arctic zone, the dangers of the mine and the perils of the sea, are faced by members of the working class to bring treasures and dainties to our epicurian parasites and their pets. Thousands of workers spend their time in the manufacture of tinsel and bunting and all the rest of the paraphernalia that forms a setting in the useless pagentry of royalty and other capitalist mummery, for the glorification of King Capital, and for the edification of the chloroformed victims of their system.

Professor Dixon told a gloomy tale of the resources of the world being rapidly used up. His capitalist mind alone prevented him from perceiving the cause—the anarchy of capitalist production and the determination of the capitalist class to keep possession of the means of life. If either he or Mr. Money were possessed of sufficient imagination to conceive of a system of society where the means of life were owned collectively and controlled democratically, they would hold the key to the only solution of a world problem.

For it is only when competition and anarchy, exploitation and class antagonism, are abolished, that the human race, associating and co-operating for their common good, can tackle the question of their dissipated inheritance. For the ruling class have indeed played ducks and drakes with our common inheritance, and they only blaspheme the god they pretend to believe in and worship, when they carve in the pediment of the temple of Mammon, where they barter and gamble with the means of wealth production—"The Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."

F. F.

RECEIVED.

"The Thieves' Book"; "Appeal Answers to Questions"; "The Road to Socialism"; "The Ginger Jar." From "Appeal to Reason," Girard, Kansas. Five cents each. "Facts and Fallacies about Economics," by T.C.C. London: Max Goehen. 1s. net.

"SOCIALISM VERSUS TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free 1

THE INSURANCE ACT FROM WITHIN.

THE dawn of a new year is an opportune time to take stock of the position of the working class as members of the National Insurance Fund. A scheme embracing many millions of our fellow working men and women, absorbing much time and attention, locked to for aid in the most distressing periods of their lives by the sick and suffering, the unemployed and want-tormented victims of modern society, it is essential that we should carefully grasp the methods of our masters in governing our class.

The insured persons may be divided broadly under two heads—employed persons compulsorily insured, and those to whom insurance under the Act is optional.

The "Statesmen" who ushered in the scheme reckoned upon 625,000 voluntary contributors rushing in to claim the "rare and refreshing fruit"—"Nuncupate for fourpence." (See Actuary's Report, Cd 5983.)

Instead of this number, however, we are informed by the Government Report (Cd 6907) that less than 16,000 had joined by October 13, 1912. These figures tell their own tale.

That so few volunteers could be obtained to apply for the alleged benefits of the scheme, illustrates the sorry condition of the thirteen million sheep driven into the Insurance fold.

The employed contributors fall into two sections, known as Depositor (or Post Office) Contributors, and the members of approved societies. The former comprise in the main the rejects of the societies—those who have been so bruised and battered in the sordid struggle for existence that they are considered "bad lives" even by the most hungry "society."

They numbered 508,000 during the first quarter, and, true to custom, these most needy of the world's workers received the worst treatment. They are not insured at all: they are simply fleeced. Medical attention, sanatorium treatment, and sickness benefit are required to the greatest extent by the Post Office Contributors, but what do they get? We reprint here a circular sent out to these members.

"Oct. 15, 1913.

"Sir or Madam,
"YORKSHIRE INSURANCE COMMITTEE.

"I am instructed by the Yorkshire Insurance Committee to inform you that, as the amount standing to your credit in the Post Office Fund is insufficient to meet the proper proportion of the yearly charge for Medical Benefit, Sanatorium benefit, and expenses of administration payable in respect of each Deposit Contributor under the National Insurance Act, you are suspended from medical and other benefits as a Deposit Contributor on and from Oct. 15 1913 till further notice. If, however, you have been, or are hereafter, accepted as a member of an approved Society, you should request the Secretary of your Society to inform the Committee of your acceptance as a member, as you would then be entitled to Medical Benefit."

The above regulation accounts for the fact that in 3,337 claims for sickness benefit made up to 31st May 1913, partial payment only was made as the account was exhausted by charges for administration. The average amount paid to the claimants (including those paid in full) was seven shillings and eight pence. The average amount paid to women claiming maternity benefit was ten shillings and a penny, and to men men fourteen shillings and fourpence. So much for the greatly belauded thirty bob!

The "lucky" ones, however, the "much favoured" twelve and a half million, are members of approved societies. The original intention was that they should become members of the various Friendly Societies who had machinery already working for the purposes of "health" insurance. I explained in our last issue the method by which the vast profit making companies became approved societies, much to the chagrin of the Friendly Societies and Trade Unions.

Speaking at the Annual Conference of the Hearts of Oak Benefit Society at Pournmouth the President said:

"Our interests have to a great extent been sacrificed and betrayed in the interests of organisations controlled by capitalists and administered for the advantage, not of the insured persons, but of shareholders and company promoters."

Similar confessions could be quoted from from many other bodies. The main point for us, however, is, what difference does it make to the insured? The chief difference is the lack of control insured persons have in the affairs of the societies. In the smaller bodies, the dividing societies and friendly associations, the members have some chance of expressing their wishes and influencing the management of the bodies. But in these titanic institutions formed by the Industrial Assurance Companies for further plunder, the millions of members are without the slightest power to regulate affairs. In the bodies, formed ostensibly for the democratic administration of the Insurance Act, the control is in the hands of committees composed of directors of the parent societies, the Industrial Assurance speculators. The staff find themselves under the iron heel of financiers and others of the exploiting class, who run the business for the purpose of profit, just like any ordinary factory hell. The only other means the insured persons have of influencing administration is that of sitting upon Insurance Committees, and as these are held, during the day-time, they are deliberately closed to the workers.

The Prudential Approved Societies have nearly 3 million members, and the position of these members may be gathered from the speech of the delegate of the Prudential Insurance Agents Union at the last Trade Union Congress. Mr. D. Jones said:

"Not one of the 2,860,000 members of the six approved societies established by the Prudential Insurance Society had a voice in the control of those societies. He further asserted that whilst the balance sheet of the Industrial Section of the society for 1912 showed that they had received £139,360 from their six approved societies (representing, he believed, one quarter's contributions), there was nothing in the balance sheet to show how the money was being expended."

Everywhere complaints are being made of the filching of members of the small societies by the large companies, who with their 100,000 agents are ever enticing members into their clutches. The National Union of Women Workers alone attributed the loss of thousands of members to this cause. The cost of administration and carrying out the edicts of the autocrats of Buckingham Gate falls very heavily upon the small bodies, and hence many of them fear that their doom is near.

The National Insurance Combine is already getting ready to absorb these associations, and by this means not only take over the State Insurance business, but also increase their highly lucrative life insurance business as well. They have therefore issued the following circular to their superintendents:

To the Superintendent.
Dear Sir,
DISSOLUTION OF SMALL APPROVED SOCIETIES.

"Many of the small Approved Societies realising the great difficulties experienced in administering the National Insurance Act, are contemplating transferring their State Members en bloc to larger and more efficiently managed Societies. It will be well, therefore, for you to be constantly on the alert, and if you should hear of any Society dissolving or contemplating dissolution, at once open negotiations with its Secretary with a view to the ultimate transfer of their State Members to the National Amalgamated Approved Society. By doing this you will stand a good chance of obtaining a large increase of State Members in your District with a minimum amount of trouble to yourself and your Agents, and thus providing a further field for the prosecution of our Life Assurance Business."

"If you succeed in getting into touch with a Society which is being dissolved, you should at once forward all particulars you can obtain and await instructions."

"It is most important that you do not bind this Society in any way as it is essential that a full investigation be made into the affairs of the

transferring Society before we can give any decision as to whether or not we are prepared to take over the Society."

The anxiety to increase their industrial life assurance business can easily be understood if reference is made to the official figures in the returns issued under the Assurance Companies Act, 1906 (No. 334 of 1912). During the year the amount received in premiums for industrial insurance amounted to £15,707,214, and the claims paid totalled £6,205,793. In the Ordinary Life Assurance, however, the premiums amounted to £28,991,401, out of which the insured received £21,453,451 in claims paid, £2,265,911 for surrendered policies, and £1,274,499 in bonuses to the insured. Judge, then, what a fine thing for the companies Industrial Insurance (policies under £20) really is and how much more the shareholders make out of it than out of Ordinary Life Assurance.

Once inside these mighty organisations the insured persons find themselves faced by carefully arranged machinery designed to prevent the insured getting much out of the funds and with not a care about curing disease. The methods pursued are varied, but long ago they realised that the doctor was the chief agent. To-day, therefore, one finds the Insurance trusts spending a penny per head for medical referees working for the companies, whose express business is to save money for their employers. No tricks are too dirty for them in their attempt to stamp the working class as malingers, and as Sir John Collie confessed ("National Insurance Gazette," 30.8.13):

"Fortunately in most cases it was a contest between knowledge and ignorance, and in such matters the ignorant are very heavily handicapped."

Sick visitors are appointed and their duties include watching the sick person, enquiring as to habits from neighbours, applying to employers, and so on—all in order to help the companies.

Should a sick visitor catch a sick woman engaged in home duties whilst "on the funds," opportunity is seldom lost to stop payment on the ground of "incapacity not evident," even though the woman is unable to go to work and may be merely trying to look after her children.

The spirit of the companies' administration may be gathered from a letter from a superintendent in a factory town recently received which stated that though the woman claimant was pregnant she should be carefully watched, as she appeared to have "nothing else" the matter with her! The doctor certified debility.

This is on a level with the reports made by the referees. A typical case is here quoted from the cases submitted to the Commissioners:

"A charwoman (177). Pregnant and expects to be delivered in about three weeks. Beyond the pregnancy there is nothing wrong with her, and as I am instructed that pregnancy, per se, is not sickness, I have marked her fit for work."

The effect of the great industrial companies on the working of Insurance may be gathered from a case reported in the "Oldfellows Magazine" for June, 1913:

"A man at Attleborough who is an insured member of the Prudential Approved Society, became ill over a fortnight since. His insurance cards were duly stamped, entitling him to sickness benefit from the commencement of his illness, and on application to the agent of the Prudential Society for the first week's sickness benefit, the man's wife duly received the 10s. due, but on her application for the second week's, it was said she was informed there was no money for her that week, nor would there be much the following week, as there was 17s. arrears (17 weeks at 1s. per week) due on the husband's life policy, and the sick pay would have to go to make up these arrears."

The power of the Combine is so great that by arrangement amongst the various Societies they have resolved not to allow transfers from one society to another, even though we were frequently informed that we had a free choice of society. This arrangement applies to the Prudential, Liverpool, Victoria, Royal Liver, Royal Co-operative, Scottish Legal, the Salvation Army, as well as to most of the Industrial Companies' Approved Societies. In accordance with

the demands of the Companies the all-powerful Commissioners (without Parliamentary sanction) decided to adopt the half-yearly card. Apart from its consequences to the staffs of the Societies, its effect upon workmen will be greater than is anticipated. Even at the present time, with a quarterly card, it is difficult to get a job if the card is blank—employers rejecting workers who have been "on the shelf" for long. What will be the chances of "finding a boss" when the latter can see the whole six months back at a glance?

This brings us near to the subject of unemployment insurance, which will be considered in a future issue by

AN "APPROVED" SLAVE.

A FUTILE ORGANISATION.

The celebration of the Cavendish Assn. (which has been inaugurated for the purpose of impressing upon public and university men the claims of municipal, national, and social service) was held recently. Meetings in different parts of the country were addressed by such well known men as Lord Selborne, Mr. Asquith, and Sir E. Grey.

Lord Selborne said: "The Association was making an appeal to men to enlist an army which was to fight materialism." Of course the noble lord was only trying to pull someone's leg. University and public men are not going to fight materialism. It is materialism they live for, and it would be what they would die for—if necessary. They, like the rest of the capitalist class, live on the three things which Lord Selborne tells us the association wants to fight—Rent, Profit, and Interest.

The weapon his lordship tells us they are going to use is the weapon of duty—duty to God and duty to their neighbours. The former has been a very effective weapon to keep the workers down, but it is losing its power through capitalist development and Socialist propaganda, so the noble lord will have to try something else. Duty to their neighbours is simply a plea for honour among thieves, for the capitalist recognises no neighbour but those of the members of his own parasite class.

The Archbishop of York said: "There was no one there who could not feel deeply conscious of a deepening and widening chasm between the wealth and opportunities of the few, and the poverty and lack of opportunity of the many."

That should be clear to any one. It is inevitable under the existing system of society. The few have wealth and opportunity because they own the means of life. The poverty and lack of opportunity of the workers can only be the result of the master class monopolising the good things of life for themselves.

"If men of leisure," said Sir E. Grey, "did not use those opportunities which leisure gave for some form of public service, it was a loss to the State and a loss to themselves as individuals."

Fancy the absurdity of the workers putting these men, who cannot realise life from the standpoint of the workers, who are your enemies, into power to represent you! That is not the way to emancipation. Emancipation can only come about through our own efforts. We want no "men of leisure" to lead us. They would mislead us. We have to carry out our own work, through our own class. We can do it, and we will do it with you on our side.

J. G. STONE.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maori Land Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JANUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 C. Baggett	A. Barker	E. Fairbrother	H. Cooper
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. L. Cox	H. Joy	S. Blake	J. Fitzgerald
Finbury Park	7.30 A. Wallis	A. W. Pearson	A. Bays	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 R. Bruce	A. Sudd	F. Hughes	G. Seech
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Sudd	G. Seech	J. Le Carte	C. Baggett
Ilford (station)	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. L. Cox	L. Lytton	T. W. Lobb
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 C. Elliot	C. Baggett	H. Joy	A. Wallis
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 L. Lytton	J. Ward	W. Lewington	C. Parker
Peckham, 41 Albert Rd.	8.0 H. King	E. Fairbrother	A. Anderson	H. King
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Hoskyns	A. Hoskyns	A. Ho kyns	A. Hoskyns
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. Ward	C. Elliott	J. Myles	C. Elliott
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30 H. Cooper	E. Lake	C. Elliott	A. Barker
Walham Green Church	7.30 H. Joy	A. Barker	E. Fairbrother	H. Joy
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	11.30 G. Seech	A. Wallis	A. Sudd	A. Anderson
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 C. Baggett	A. Bays	A. W. Pearson	J. Myles
Watford Market Place	7.30 E. Fairbrother	H. Joy	C. Baggett	J. Le Carte
	8.0 A. Bays	A. Wallis	G. Seech	B. Young
	7.30 B. Young	T. W. Lobb	R. Bruce	J. Ward
	7.30 W. Lewington	A. Anderson	A. Sudd	A. W. Pearson
	7.30 J. Myles	J. Fitzgerald	W. Thorne	B. Wilks

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dawsell rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, Palatine Road, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britannia-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartlev. Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Secy., 193 Grays Inn-rd., W.C.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
ILFORD.—W. Holt Secretary, 3 George Street, Barking. Branch meets alternate Sundays at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.
KILBURN.—E. Turner, Sec., 2 Bradiston-rd. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 69 High-rd., Kilburn (side door).
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.
MARYLEBONE.—Communications to Sec., 24 Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at Bennett's Restaurant, 82 Lisson-grove, N.W.
NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m. at 361, Harrow Road, W. (side door).
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 82, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch business 1st and 3rd Mons, public discussion other Mons 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at 127 Upper Tooting-road.
TOTTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 86 Rangemoor Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets alt'e Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SOUTH AFRICA AND IRELAND.

LESSONS FOR THE MISGUIDED.

South Africa is in a strike turmoil that has set the Union Government in such a panic that, in addition to the most elaborate military precautions, it is described as a revolution more than a labour quarrel. Yet the demand of the strikers is for the reinstatement of the men displaced by the economies effected in the railway service by a policy of retrenchment!

Making full allowance for the fact that any peg will do to hang a quarrel on when a quarrel is brewing, it is difficult to imagine a revolution in any way connected with what the red flag, that decorated the streets of Johannesburg, is supposed to indicate, being dependent upon a question of capitalist administration.

On the other hand, the Government in South Africa have expressed the opinion that the present trouble arises from the presence of "agitators," and that when these are successfully deported the trouble will cease. This is flattering to the agitators, but very doubtfully true to facts.

The most successful labour agitator must have the conditions for his success present, and the discontent must arise from something material in addition to the appeals of the agitator.

The following figures from an article which appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" (Jan. 15th, 1914) may help to explain the economic conditions on which the "agitator" had to work:

"In 1912 the Rand, as it is colloquially known, produced in round figures, £37,000,000 of gold. Over £13,500,000 of that vast sum was paid in wages, £7,865,000 going to Europeans, of whom 23,518 were employed on the mines, and £5,691,000 to South African natives, of whom 193,351 were employed. Stores and supplies consumed on the Rand cost nearly ten millions sterling; £5,800,000 was spent in development work, leaving a balance of about £8,000,000 to be distributed as dividends to investors who had furnished the necessary capital for the mining enterprises."

It is interesting to note that the "investors" who had furnished the necessary capital had already had that capital returned to them in dividends

Why Safety cannot be Afforded. up to forty-four times over, and are still drawing 12 per cent. dividend.

The "Daily Telegraph" says further:

"Some of the Rand mining companies have made enormous returns to their shareholders. There are 115 companies on the Rand from which returns were received, and it is impossible to give details of all of them, but a few typical instances of high dividends may be mentioned. The Ferreira Company, since its quotation, has paid 4,415 per cent. on its capital,

and has distributed nearly four millions sterling in dividends. The Crown Reef has paid 2,404 per cent.; the Johannesburg Pioneer, 2,107½ per cent.; the Wemmer, 1,237 per cent.; the Meyer and Charlton, 1,105 per cent.; the Durban Rodepoort, 1,100 per cent.; the Crown Mines, 1,067½ per cent.; the New Heriot, 992½ per cent.; the New Primrose, 817½ per cent.; and there have been many distributions amounting in the aggregate to 200, 300, and 400 per cent. and upwards. The total sum paid in dividends by the Rand mines amounts to £88,159,489. If the whole of the Transvaal gold mines be included, the payments to shareholders reach the colossal total of £91,462,773 distributed between 1887 and 1912."

Then if we recall the articles that went the rounds of the Press last July on the occasion of the former strike on the Rand, which showed how short-lived the miner was on account of the mortality from a form of phthisis resulting from breathing the dust-laden atmosphere, we shall get a further glimpse of the motive force behind the agitator.

Apart, however, from the actual conditions of labour for white workers in South Africa, which on the showing of the above figures represent a

The Answer to Industrialists degree of exploitation seldom to be met with; and leaving out the industrial position occupied by the native blacks and the impor-

ted Indians, which is infinitely worse, the attitude of the Government is enlightening. There is a growing body of labour opinion in this country and elsewhere, that contends and belittles the political forces which we Socialists pronounce of the very first importance. In South Africa a big strike is on, and a general strike is threatened, and the answer of the capitalist Government is the mailed fist—the mobilisation of all forms of the weaponised arm of the law. With it the capitalist Government can batter the working class into submission, whether it be in Johannesburg or Dublin.

The same lesson was taught by the strike of French railway workers that was scotched in a similar way—by calling up the military reserve, many of whom were of the strikers.

That lesson was quite lost upon the Industrialists. They argue that a general strike will bring society to a standstill. Which may be true, but the working class are at a hungry standstill easily first. The workers cannot hope to starve the masters into surrender. In the starvation handicap the workers are half way along the course to start with. Nor can they fight the masters while the latter control the fighting machinery. Nor can they lock the master out while he holds the keys. If and when they are ready to stop capitalist exploitation, and appropriate the master class, granting they will

instinctively turn to direct and immediate force to express such a conviction, we may ask—How will they use the vote they already possess?

The Weapon of the Vote. According to the attitude of the Syndicalist he would not use it at all. To tell him that the vote is—or should be—the modern, civilised method of registering the opinions of citizens leaves him cold. Historical explanations of the growth and significance of the vote merely cause his lip to curl. But the majority of votes controls the policy of government, and if you refuse the social expression of your opinion you leave the majority with the enemy: your case is lost by default.

To be ready to fight against capitalism and to refuse to vote against it is to us sheer folly—folly on its own account and rank madness when the voting is an essential preliminary to successful fighting, and may even render the fighting unnecessary. The "agitators," therefore, in South Africa may be arch-Larkins, but they are not Socialists. For the Socialist always emphasises the importance of the political weapon. It is this very emphasis that has enabled the Labour members here to steal our thunder, and substitute the form for the substance. While we insist on the necessity of political representation for Socialism, they insist upon political representation only, with themselves as the representatives.

The colour or creed of the capitalist government does not matter in the least. When Larkin brought his fiery cross across the Irish Sea, in his first speech here, at the Albert Hall, he said it was important that the Dublin strike should be won, but it was a thousand times more important that the Home Rule Bill should go through. Which shows that Larkin doesn't understand the working-class position. For does not the situation in South Africa show the Boer generals—De la Rey, Potgieter, and the rest who were prepared to fight for independence for South Africa, hand in glove, shoulder to shoulder, with their erstwhile opponents against the working class?

And so in Ireland, the Home Rulers, with the passing of the Bill that Mr. Larkin thinks so important, would be found side by side with Carson, Law, Smith & Co. against the workers.

What Larkin Does Not Know. The incident in South Africa is a glaring instance of the fundamental nature of the class struggle, and a standing example of how the very shadows any sectional difference between the masters, which all Socialists know, and which Larkin does not.

The same thing is going on in Dublin. The authorities are inclined to blame the "agitators," and made the mistake South Africa is copying

of imprisoning them. The forces of law and order ran amok and battered people not wisely but too well. The official investigation that was to follow has provided an illuminating spectacle. The process of white-washing is so flagrant that a Liberal member of Parliament who saw the battering and was going to throw light on the investigation has been badly snubbed and is disgusted. It is to be hoped he makes a noise when Parliament meets, but it is to be feared he is too loyal a Liberal to have the heart to inconvenience an administration that is already up against difficulties enough. After his timely rescue of the Government last session when they were threatened with a minority on a snap division, surely he will not round on them now! They must explain things to him.

The conduct of the police, however, can only be considered from their point of view as indiscreetly over zealous, and one can quite understand the displeasure of the legal luminaries engaged upon the difficult task of glossing over so rough a case, at an English M.P. "poking his nose in," as they expressed it.

As the action of the police in Dublin was no different in kind, if it were in degree, from their action in Wales and in Cornwall, when a Commission sits on the matter, it may as well include in its terms of reference those and other cases besides Dublin.

But the present writer is strongly of the opinion that if the working class do not want the police force, and the army, and the navy, and the bench, and the rest of the present social machinery, used against them, the only way is to grasp the power that wields these forces, which is to be had by the casting of a vote in the right way, with the consciousness and the intentions of the Socialist behind it. You must get behind the gun; you must guide the policeman's baton from the centre of government. The capture of the political machinery is still the essential preliminary to a successful working-class revolution. D. K.

"SOCIALISM AND RELIGION."

A CLERGYMAN'S COURAGEOUS ATTEMPT TO REFUTE OUR HISTORIC PAMPHLET.

Sir,—The S.P.G.B. booklet "Socialism and Religion" has been placed in my hands in the hope that I would make some defence of the Christian position. I cannot—not because no defence is possible, but because one cannot defend unless there is an attack. I would have treated the booklet as a piece of light comedy but for the evident seriousness which is breathed out from cover to cover.

With admirable frankness it appeals to "facts" which do not exist, and by that appeal it stands condemned. Facts, plain facts which can be verified in any decently equipped public library, disprove the premises on which the case which it advocates rests.

I admire the grit of your little Party in boldly trying to play the part of Athanasius contra Mundum, but no one can do that successfully unless he has the Truth on his side.

There is much that is controversial in the booklet, e.g., whether Christianity is or is not linked indissolubly with Socialism; but my task at present is the easy one of showing your readers a few facts which I hope they will test as rigorously as they possibly can. For the statements which I make in this paper are not what I would were true, but what are actually correct.

I. THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION.

I quote: "It is generally accepted that the earliest form is ancestor-worship, to which Herbert Spencer's ghost theory has given us the master key" (p. 9). Now this is quite untrue. Caepier and Le Bon alone agree with Spencer; while de Brosses, Comte and Tylor claim fetishism, Tholuck, Ulrici and Caird claim pantheism, Schelling, Max Müller and Von Hartmann claim henothism, Rawlinson Creuzer and Cook, monotheism, as the earliest form. Paulsen reckons all these theories to be inadequate singly, and claims that some combination of them must be

assumed. Flint is of the opinion that the data are insufficient for a decision. Where, then, is the "general acceptance"?

On the same point I would remark that a statement, however accurate, concerning the primary historical form of religion in no way explains the origin of religion. To say that the hen was originally an embryo in the egg in no way explains the existence of the fowl. Whence came the egg? Similarly, even supposing ancestor-worship as the primary form of religion, what caused it? And if you can find a cause for that, what caused this prior cause? Since something can never come from nothing, the whole contention of this section of the booklet, even if its premises were true, would be quite irrelevant.

II. WHAT IS RELIGION?

I quote: "The fundamental idea of religion is a belief in the persistence of life after death" (p. 9). Is it, indeed? I have examined ten definitions of religion by leaders of every shade of creed or no-creed, and not one of them offered such a definition. Why? Because it would be so obviously inaccurate. In actual fact this belief is so far from being fundamental that it is not even essential to religion. Several religions and creeds (e.g., the Hebrew) had no such belief, while an irreligious man may hold this belief quite reasonably.

Under the same head let me show up another misrepresentation. "Thus religious legends of miracle, when adduced as proofs of the divine origin of religion..." (p. 11). Yet the copy of the pamphlet which I hold in my hand bears the date 1911! Who nowadays adduces "miracles" as a proof of the divinity of religion? Even the most youthful scientist does not know what a "miracle" is; the whole matter of miracles remains in suspense, except among the ignorant, who elect to believe, or disbelieve, on insufficient evidence. Until historical research and scientific experiment have shown that "miracles" are either impossible, or can be performed only by the pure, or by all, no judgment can be made, and case deduced, for or against.

III. WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

There are two errors, gross and palpable, in the booklet. On p. 17 one reads: "Christianity... its cardinal ethic of submission"; and on p. 38: "The Christian doctrine means submission and slavery." Does it! Let your readers pick up their Bibles and read them; or if they would like a simpler way, let them look up in a Concordance the headings "Overcome," "Strive," and the like. Then let them find out the actual modern English equivalent of the Greek word in each case. Let them do this, and they will find that the New Testament gives the lie to this statement. Then let them take a bird's-eye view of Church history, and they will find that the statement quoted has no historical support. Even the quotation from Prof. Seeley (on p. 21) quoted in support of it, turns against it and reads it to shreds, as anyone pausing to note the connotation of "plausibly" can see.

I turn to error second in this section. On p. 38 we read of "the asceticism, self-abnegation, and professed otherworldliness of Christian teaching, which regards this world as a vale of tears and a painful preparation for a life in the clouds." "Socialism and Religion" proclaims this earth to be a "vale of tears" as loudly as the most dolorous Christian possibly could do. But does Christianity teach that it is simply "a painful preparation," etc.? No. The old country grannie may remember a time in the dim, distant past when, a young lass, she listened to the village cobbler preaching thus. We ourselves may detect these thoughts underlying some of the 18th century poems and hymns, notably Cowper's; but if the author of the pamphlet had "sat under" any modern minister of average education for any reasonable period, he would not have penned the above words, sincerely, at any rate. No one can study the New Testament intelligently and say that the quotation is a correct summary of Christian teaching.

There is one further error, more subtle, but none the less erroneous. "Individualism is of the very essence of Christianity" (Church Congress, 1909). And Christianity, we may add, is by the same token, the very antithesis of Socialism. Is it! I don't know in what sense the "eminent prelate" used the word Individualism,

but it is a statement that I would make without hesitation, and with equal lack of hesitation I would combat any one who made the wholly false deduction that "by the same token" etc. For the true antithesis to Socialism is not Individualism, but Competitivism! Individualism is the doctrine whose teaching is that the rights of the individual must be conserved. Whether these rights are more easily conserved under Competitivism or Socialism is an entirely different question.

IV. WHOM DOES RELIGION AID?

"Religion... is ever found on the side of the oppressors" (p. 25). A sweeping statement, to disprove which it would be necessary to advance only one case of the opposite nature. But I will assume that the real meaning is: "Religion is usually on the side of the oppressors." Is this true? Let your readers scan any History which is free from bias (and most Histories are); better still, let them look up contemporary writings of any religious movement they please, if they can get access to them, and what will they find? No corroboration of the above statement. Did Christianity toady to the corrupt governors in the Roman Empire? Did Wycliffe denounce the poor peasant and flatter the lord? Did Luther smilingly betray the masses of Germany and receive the favours of a Court? Did Huss desert the Bohemian peasants and receive a title from Sigismund? Did Whitefield look at the Kingswood miners, and pass by on the other side to dine, say, at Badminton House? No. Wycliffe was a people's champion; Luther was as much the friend of the poor as he was hated of the powers; the only title Huss received for his services to the peasants was the stake; Whitefield was scorned of the gentry and loved by the commons. If the Bishops, all of whom were of "noble blood," naturally stood by the aristocracy in the French Revolution, no less did the humbler Shepherds stand by their oppressed flocks. Doubtless there have been sycophants, content to sell the shadow which they call their religion for a mess of pottage; but I defy anyone to show that genuine religion has always remained deaf to the cry of the oppressed.

V. THE TEACHING OF NATURAL HISTORY.

"Natural history has shown us that the struggle for the food supply is the fundamental principle of organic evolution" (p. 28). Indeed! What is the actual fact? Natural history has shown that there are two principles at work, and always have been, so far as investigations and reasonable conjectures can carry us: the one stated in the booklet, and another equally important, which has been named by one "the struggle for the life of others." Self-preservation and Others-preservation have blended together to produce what may be called nowadays Prudence and Generosity (or Sacrifice). In short, Evolution is a far more complex thing than "Socialism and Religion" would lead the unthoughtful reader to suppose.

VI. THEISM VERSUS MATERIALISM.

"The concept of God as an explanation of the Universe is becoming entirely untenable in this age of scientific enquiry" (p. 32). This is mere assertion, absolutely denied by facts. Materialism has been shown to be illogical, and has been abandoned by almost every thinker. Modern scientists recognise to-day that it is not within the province of science, which deals only with phenomena, to examine or criticise the concept of God, which is not phenomenal but noumenal. Science is not opposed to religion. And if the idea of an uncaused God be difficult to accept, so also is the idea of an uncaused "matter," about which, after all, we know nothing (Spencer's "First Principles" puts this more clearly than some of the better authorities). And so we have, I ask your readers to verify the statement, a body of scientists who, while fully and wholeheartedly following the light of science, recognise that philosophy has her light too, and that this light shews Materialism to be a foundationless scheme.

VII. THE PLACE OF ETHICS.

"Grant Allen has clearly shown... that religion and ethics had distinct origins" (p. 35). But it is incorrect to suppose that they are inde-

pendent. Two flowers on one branch may appear independent and have separate stalks, but they are allied so closely that the same root nourishes them. Why, the ethics of your Party are dependent on your worship of his Economic Interpretation of the World.

I have not attempted to give any detailed criticism of the booklet: I have aimed only at stating a few facts which it has not observed or understood. Much more could have been written, but my purpose will have been served and my case won, if I succeed in making my readers verify these points for themselves. Enquire with open mind; let the facts decide; and I say with confidence that the verdict will go against "Socialism and Religion." Unless you say all science is vain but the Marxian Economy, all history untrue but the Marxian interpretation of it, all philosophy untrustworthy; unless you throw over logic and reason and research as false lamps, the position advanced in "Socialism and Religion" must collapse as soon as the cold eye of Scrutiny detects its false premises. PHILALETHES.

[Our reply will appear in our next issue.]

THE COMING RACE.

The above title does not refer to the Grand National or the Jubilee Stakes, but to a race of some importance in the world's affairs, namely, the race for supremacy in the cotton industry between India and Lancashire.

"East is east and West is west and ne'er the twain shall meet," wrote Kipling; but while that may hold good for ages in the purely racial sense, there are signs which indicate that the time is not far distant when they will meet in a deadly struggle on the industrial field—if they have not already entered upon that struggle—and what the result of that struggle will be is a matter for serious consideration.

An article by Saint Nihal Singh in the "London Magazine" a while back dealt very fully with the progress of the Indian cotton industry since 1881.

At that time there were in India 55 cotton mills, containing 1,434,364 spindles and 12,739 looms, and giving employment to 46,530 men, and in 1910 the number of mills had grown to be 216, with 5,773,824 spindles, 74,585 looms, giving employment to 215,410 persons and producing 593,206,855 pounds of yarn, and 215,360,904 pounds of cloth. During 1911 1912 the Indian mills consumed 6,000,000 cwt out of the 14,000,000 cwt. of cotton India had produced during that year.

These figures give undeniable testimony to the growth of the cotton industry of India, and when it is remembered that the increase becomes more rapid each year it is easily seen that the effect upon the eastern market, hitherto monopolised by Lancashire, will be to turn the tables in favour of the Indian cotton magnates.

No longer does Manchester ship much of the coarse cloth to Hindustan that the natives consume annually by the million pounds. This demand is now largely met by the Indian power mills together with the native hand looms, which employ two million men and their wives and children.

As yet, however, the Indian mills together with the hand looms, are not capable of supplying more than a fraction of the piece goods required by the 250,000,000 natives. This is due not only to the fact that the number of the Indian mills is not large enough to cope with the native demand, but also because the Indian factories almost entirely concern themselves with the production of coarse cloth, as they find great difficulty in manufacturing the finer fabrics.

These obstacles are of a two-fold nature. In the first place the native cotton does not come up to the Egyptian and American cotton, and is not of sufficiently good quality to be woven by machinery into fine cloth. Secondly, the Indians do not possess the requisite skill for weaving by machinery the finer grades of cloth goods and giving them the finish the imported articles possess. Therefore practically all the finer grades of cloth consumed in Hindustan has to be imported—mostly from Lancashire.

But Lancashire cannot for long remain in this strong position, for the predicament in which India finds herself is only of a transitory nature. Egyptian and American varieties of cotton have now been acclimatised in several portions of the peninsula, and yearly larger numbers of farmers are taking to raising them. Thus, with an improved variety of raw material close at hand, the Indian manufacturers will gain considerably in their fight for the eastern market.

Another factor which will make its influence felt is the enormous mass of cheap native labour. Admittedly, the Indian operative, man for man, falls a long way short of the Lancashire worker as regards productive efficiency, but ultimately there will be a levelling up in this respect as the Indian worker acquires the skill necessary for the working of modern machinery on a large scale. It may eventually be necessary to double or even treble the present wages of the Indian worker as the cotton industry develops, partly because of a possible rise in the cost of living, and partly because of the industrial organisation of the workers themselves. But even then their wages would fall far short of the Lancashire standard. This, combined with equal productive efficiency and increasing capacity for coping with the native demand, and particularly the great advantage of, on the one hand, finding the raw material on the spot, and on the other hand having the market at the factory door, will enable the Indian cotton manufacturers to leave their Lancashire fellow capitalists behind altogether.

With the huge demand of India falling off, and a correspondingly rapid development of industry in Japan, what is to become of the surplus products of the western nations? With practically every capitalist country in the Western Hemisphere able to supply the greater part of the world with manufactured goods, it will be seen that the time will come when a universal slump will prevail, bringing with it unemployment and intensification of poverty among the workers on a scale hitherto unknown.

What a prospect! The world market glutted with goods, and increasing numbers of the workers who produce them living in abject poverty, in many cases dying of starvation, or what coroners' juries call "natural causes," i.e., trying to live on air.

So long as the capitalist system of production for profit holds sway, so long will the workers be subject to the travail engendered by these constantly recurring industrial crises and their attendant evils. Obviously, if the workers as a class receive only about a third of the wealth they produce, it is impossible for them to buy back from the capitalist class the surplus. Therefore as the flow of goods needs the stimulus of an effective demand, and as the workers of the world, who are the largest consumers of the necessities of life, are deprived of the wealth necessary to make good that demand, a glut must occur, sooner or later, according to the rapidity of accumulation caused by increased exploitation.

In view of the foregoing facts what are you of the working class going to do? Do you think funeral clubs will meet the case, or that a handful of refreshing fruit (variety Lloyd's Georgius, very rare) will keep the wolf from the door? How long are you going to let the capitalists and their hirelings feed you on political air-balls? While you give them something more substantial in return—political power, which is the force that maintains them on your backs.

What is it that makes the capitalist laugh so? It is the sight of thousands of you roaring yourselves black in the face singing the "Land Song," joining the "Ulster Volunteers," and doing any stupid thing except thinking of your own interests—that's what makes them laugh. Drop all that foolery; study your position as a class; study Socialism as expounded by the Socialist Party; and when you understand, join us and direct your energies toward the conquest of political power, which is the main switch controlling the light of economic freedom.

A. E. G.

A Central Economic Class has been started at the Head Office, and intending students are urged to attend every Thursday evening at 8. The Class Struggle is on—be ye prepared!

BY THE WAY.

The worthlessness of the Labour Party has been pointed out in the columns of the "S.S." over and over again, and whilst the only excuse they have to offer for the miserable fight (1) they put up is that their number is so small, what can their supporters think of them in view of Mr. Outhwaite's (M.P. for Hanley) article on the strike in South Africa?

In referring to the miners' strike of last year, and asking whether "our Parliament can bring pressure to bear in any way," he says:

"I am not very hopeful. When again and again during the crisis precipitated by the use of Imperial troops last summer, I strove to move the adjournment of the House, Mr. Macdonald kept the Labour Party quiet. When I moved the reduction of the Colonial Secretary's salary there were only five members of the Labour Party present while I was speaking, and only six when Mr. Keir Hardie spoke in support." ("Reynolds's," 18.1.14.)

The above extract serves a useful purpose in again showing the hypocrisy of the Labour Party.

In the same article there is much food for thought, bearing in mind that on the Labour programme they have Nationalization of the Railways, etc., as an instalment of the good things to come which the Labour Party are out for. It is worth while to note how the railways are State property.

While the capitalist Press is busily engaged in proclaiming the fact that the year 1913 was a record one, that "our" trade had gone up by leaps and bounds unprecedented, I take the following from a trade journal as an example of many that show there is a reverse side to this picture:

"A surplus of from four to five hundred compositors failed to find employment even in the busiest week of the year, while a great many more had only a few weeks' work during the whole twelve months." ("London Typographical Journal," Jan. 1914.)

From the foregoing the workers can readily see how important a matter it is to them that "our" trade last year excelled all previous records. At a time when trade is booming hundreds, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men are suffering enforced idleness, and Trade Unionism fails to touch the spot. To the disciples of Caxton I would say, in Socialism lies your only hope!

I notice in the same journal reference is made to the Printers' Strike of 1911. Now that things have evidently settled down again, with disastrous results to the noble "four hundred," the readers of the "London Typographical Journal" are to be dosed once more with the rot that the employers and the employees are like unto the Siamese twins. But let the Journal speak for itself:

"The incidents of 1911 are gradually fading into a welcome obscurity, and a better feeling between employers and employed is evident on all sides to the advantage of everyone concerned."

"Better feeling" between the robbed and the robbers. This after talking about "Eight and we can't wait!"

The way the workers and their children are fed occasionally leaks out. During the past week the newspapers have told us how narrowly some children missed eating unfit meat when a Manor Park butcher was fined for supplying unsound meat to the East Ham Education Committee.

"The meat was to be used to feed necessitous children. It was examined by the medical officer of health, however, found to be unfit, and condemned. Most of it was undergoing decomposition." ("Daily News," 21.1.14.)

THE SCOUT.

cial strikes have occurred of late, there arises a point which, I think, some of our "Labour" leaders ought to explain. If, as they constantly affirm, municipalisation is really ownership by the people themselves for the benefit of the people, who are these strikers fighting? Themselves? If it be true that the people themselves control the municipal machinery, and the workers constitute the majority, why do they not as a starter vote themselves higher wages and better all round conditions?

On the other hand, is it not a glaring fact that even under the most "progressive" of municipalities the workers are robbed, browbeaten, and scabbed every bit as bad as under any privately-owned concern?

If, as our euphemistic "leaders" declare, "Socialism is simply an extension of the present principle of municipal ownership," is it not rather something to be condemned in view of its oppressive nature?

To the Socialist the position is clear enough, but it would be interesting to hear what these advocates of "practical Socialism" have to say about the present municipal unrest and its relation to "citizen government," having regard to the thousands of volumes they have foisted upon the working class advocating this particular theory. Up to now they have maintained a very discreet silence.

* * *

It was disclosed at a recent meeting of the Salford Town Council that there were no fewer than 400 little children running about the streets of Salford suffering from consumption. Though the Education Committee were prepared to spend £500 on an open-air school for them, when the matter came before the Council it was vetoed on the score of expense. Now had it been a royal visit—!

* * *

The "Daily Sketch" for Jan. 8th published a list of the supporters of Lord Roberts and his ideals and aspirations as exemplified in the National Service League. Squeezed in among a lot of earls, lords, and viscounts was the name of H. M. Hyndman.

* * *

One has no need to go to the "Clarion" publications for a knowledge of economics. Economics was never their strong point. In fact, they know nothing about it. They say so. So one does not know whether to take them seriously when they endeavour to condemn Marx without ever having read him.

For instance, "The Clarion" lately reviewed a book by Sienkhovitch, a professor of economic history at an American university. Sienkhovitch, as many who read this paper are doubtless aware, has been trying to refute Marx's theories, and has succeeded to a great extent—in making a fool of himself.

The "Clarion" is in the same boat. Says the "Clarion":

"Not only does he (Sienkhovitch) make mince-meat of the theory of value, but also of several other theories on which Marx founded his scientific prophecies of the inevitability of Socialism—in the middle of next week, as it were: e.g., the economic interpretation of history, the disappearance of the middle class, the theory of increasing misery, the theory of crises, and the inevitable cataclysm."

All of which, chuckles the "Clarion," have been smashed. But is the "Clarion" sure?

What interpretation of history is there other than the materialistic one? Is it untrue to say that the middle class is gradually but surely disappearing? And was Marx lying when he prophesied increased misery for the workers with the intensification of machine production? Is the class struggle a myth, and is the theory of exploitation wrong? Perhaps the "Clarion" will show—if they can. One thing they do show—their definite position among the opponents of Socialism.

"Marx, unfortunately," our contemporary goes on to say, "had not the advantage of being a reader of the 'Clarion,' otherwise he would not have laid himself open to attacks of this kind." Which is perhaps true. Had Marx belonged to that peculiar set of people afflicted with that incorrigible disease known as "Clarionitis," he

would, in all probability, have known nothing of those theories (alas! now smashed), a knowledge of which, he claimed, was essential to the understanding of Socialism. And the Socialist Movement would have been the loser.

"In the present state of social science it is unsafe," babbles the "Clarion," "to prophesy even about the simplest phenomena; how much more to indulge in the forecasting of conditions so complicated as a social system?" Marx was no prophet in the sense that the "Clarion" would have it appear, but he certainly possessed more insight into the conditions around him and the tendencies thereof than the smart alecks of the "Clarion" appear to possess. What Marx did was to point out the probable results of certain tendencies in the capitalist system—results which time has proved, proving also that his line of generalisation was correct. Touching the same point—has the "Clarion" staff ever read "Britain for the British" or "Merrie England"? All the details of the (Clarion) Socialist Commonwealth are there! And who has portrayed it all? Who but the infallible prophet, Blatchford! The "Clarion" disdains all knowledge requisite to Socialist principles, being content to remark: "We want Socialism. That is enough to go on with."

TOM SALA.

THE FORUM.

HISTORY TO SUIT.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

"In the 'S.S.' for December you say in reply to J. Sutherland (Australia):

"Since the armed force is controlled by Parliament it is necessary, above all, to capture Parliament."

"Now, is the armed force controlled by Parliament? The burden of proof rests on the affirmer. Mere jeering at 'weak-kneed L.W. Whites' is not argument. We want something more than wordy assumption and dogmatic assertion. Is not the armed force actually controlled and directed by representatives of the aristocratic and capitalist class, who are (incidentally) experts in military science and organisation? Is not every unit of that armed force trained and disciplined to be loyal and obedient to their officers? Supposing the Socialist Parliament (say 400 members) instructed this armed force to dispossess a few dukes of their land, etc., do you seriously suggest that they would carry out the decree of the gallant 400? It would then be a question of disciplined and organised might against—a sheet of parchment! It is just possible they would simply arrest that 'word-struck' 400! And what then? The London mob would show its resentment by 'throwing stones at the police.' The rest of the vote casting revolutionists throughout the country would be speedily bludgeoned and bayoneted into submission.

"Let us take an illustration from the 17th century. Cromwell was a 'direct actionist,' if ever there was one. He had a short way with mere babblers and 'phrase-mongers.' History tells how he captured the 'executive and administrative powers.' Did he trouble about getting a lot of crosses put on a certain number of bits of paper? If history speaks correctly it would appear that he had more faith in the 'direct action' purgative. What part did the armed force play in the Civil War? Did it rally to the support of the Parliamentarians? Of course not. This armed force simply split into two sections, the more efficient supporting the King and landed aristocracy. Parliament had to raise and train a fresh army on its own account. Would this be possible in the case of a Parliament representing the workers? Don't reply to this question with a flood of rhetoric. Let us have a douche of cold reason.

"Your sneers at industrial action recoil on your own vote-struck head. The workers must organise industrially, preach and practice anti-militarism, acquire the necessary knowledge of industrial methods, with a view to complete control of the whole social machinery, with each industry as the unit of organisation. As stepping stones to the Great Revolt, the organised

workers should (among other things) refuse *en masse* to pay rent or taxes, refuse to send their children to capitalist schools, or, better still, refuse to beget any more little wage-slaves for the capitalist class.

"Propaganda and still more propaganda! It is even possible that these revolutionary actions may convert the 'armed force' itself. One thing seems certain: mere votes will never impress the 'mailed fist' devotees. I would urge you to abandon your advocacy of what is merely the superficial unity of a geographical abstraction expressed through the ballot box.

"Yours, D. A. CONROY."

Although the above is presumably meant as a specimen "douche of cold reason," it may seriously be questioned whether it contains anything more than "wordy assumption and dogmatic assertion." If the letter means anything, indeed, it is an assertion that the armed forces are not in the least controlled by Parliament. An entirely unsupported statement in face of the fact that Parliament pays the armed forces, determines their form, their size, their general expenditure and equipment, and also controls through its chosen representatives the officering and ordering of those forces. Need more be said?

It appears from Mr. Conroy's letter that Oliver Cromwell is the latest recruit to the ranks of the "direct actionists"! Since Cromwell was a Parliamentarian, and later a political and military dictator, it may be supposed that "direct action" now includes Parliamentarism and dictatorship, according to its latest champion!

In point of fact our correspondent's appeal to the Great Rebellion could hardly be more unfortunate for his argument. The bourgeoisie could not emancipate itself, in spite of its growing economic importance, without conquering political power. It used its control of the purse through Parliament as the great lever. It obtained control thereby of the military and naval organisation, and (in spite of the Royalist defection) of a considerable and effective portion of the fighting force. The bourgeoisie further utilised Parliament to raise funds, and to strengthen and reorganise the army to defeat the King. In all this Cromwell was their most efficient servant, and if this was "direct action," then we are direct actionists. It is certain that Cromwell would be puzzled to say what economic organisation he represented!

Even when, through the development and perfection of the Puritan army, this became all-powerful in the State, Cromwell repeatedly attempted to act Parliamentarily. The military dictatorship became his only resort when it was made clear that his party could no longer command a majority in the country. Even then he was compelled to ask Parliamentary sanction for his new powers. Thus the section in control of the armed forces was enabled to dominate for a time the rest of the nation, showing even here how essential is control of the fighting power for success. It must further be remembered that this happened at a time when Parliament was just emerging from its great birth-struggle with absolutism and the "divine right" of kings. It was planted firmly on its feet at what is called the revolution of 1688, when William and Mary obtained and acknowledged their title to the throne from Parliament alone. From that day onward the powers and privileges of Parliament have grown. Thus history refutes our correspondent.

Another point. By the time 400 Socialists are elected to Parliament the whole country and administration will have been undermined by the workers, and the pro-slavery revolt of the capitalists, aided even by a defection of part of the army, will have scant chance of success in face of the armed forces, machinery, and organisation controlled by the working class politically victorious. The real danger lies in an unready, unclass-conscious proletariat obtaining a premature majority with half baked or treacherous leaders. This is a danger the Socialist Party recognises and fights. It is, however, fostered by the campaign of "hurray" conducted by the Syndicalists.

The conquest of the political State by the workers organised as a class party is, therefore, the only way, and in this the trade unions as a section of that class party will and must aid

But what does our correspondent suggest as an alternative method? He puts forward as the means to be used in the great revolt, refusal *en masse* to pay rent or taxes, refusal of the workers to send their children to capitalist schools, or better still, refusal to beget any children at all!

Regarding the last point, would it not solve the social problem even more completely if the whole working class were to commit suicide immediately?

Most of us, however, sympathise with our correspondent in his proposal to cease paying rent, and are ready to do so on the slightest provocation; but few of us are in such a state of mental insolvency that we think that we can inaugurate the New Jerusalem by so doing.

And with regard to the further item of this refreshing program (the refusal to pay taxes) it may be asked, since the taxes that matter and which one might resist are levied on property, how will it help the propertyless to refuse to pay them?

EN PASSANT.

—O—

For members of the working class there is nothing in the New Year. They still have the monotonous round of work and sleep, sometimes altered so as to give them a glimpse of LIFE, to sleep and work.

For some members of the master class there are great expectations—of peerages and the like. Every year politicians who have given munificent sums to the party coffers, are rewarded with an increased "social status." Their names and photos appear in newspapers, although some organs, having regard to maintaining a reputation for being serious journals, do not publish the photos.

These rewards are ironically called honours. This year is no exception to the rule. The party who so valiantly adopted the attitude of destroyer of the arrogant House of Lords, have made a few more peers. Some evilly-disposed persons might regard the Liberal party as hypocritical, but to those behind the scenes this "creation" of peers is known as "boring from within," or "Fabianesque Flapdoodle." Peers were formerly of the aristocracy; they are now recruited from the plutocracy and belong to an organised hypocrisy.

There are some simple-minded persons who doubt our connecting these honours with donations to party funds. The following 'extract' from the official Parliamentary reports (Vol 54, No. 61, 19 June, 1913) will perhaps imbue them with the courage begotten of knowledge. The speaker is Sir A. Markham, who is a wealthy Liberal and has a title. This may be only a coincidence, but to say so is to admit that it may not. He said:

"These [party] funds in the main are derived by the sale of honours; they have largely been contributed to by both parties for this particular purpose by the sale of honours. . . . Both political parties are in the same position."

So it remains that these bearded honours resemble sausages in that they are bought and paid for. That is the secret of the titles of some of the plutocratic parvenus of the "People's Party."

One can imagine a wealthy Liberal (or Tory) dressed as a chivalrous warrior of the Middle Ages addressing the Liberal Party (in the guise of a loving maiden) or the Tory party (gowned as a medieval Primrose Dame) thus:

"I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour(s) more."

* * *

Land and landlords are "in the air." By this I do not mean that some fire-breathing Anarchist has been acting upon his "propaganda by deed" principle, but merely that the subject of land and landlords is under discussion. Mr. Lloyd George is still acting the part of the sanctimonious saviour who is to rescue the agricultural labourer (and the peasant) from the pains and penalties of penury.

Some other members of the Liberal party are not so sanguine as our Celtic catch penny lawyer—witness Mr. W. Young, Liberal M.P. for East Perthshire, who, according to the "Dundee Advertiser" (Liberal) of Nov. 25th, 1913, gave

utterance to the following:

"Some of them [the Scottish Liberal M.P.s] were, no doubt, very good Radicals when they visited their constituencies in Scotland, but they sometimes assumed a different attitude when it came to a question in the House of Commons of curtailing the power of the landowner or of interfering with the privileges of vested interests or the landowning monopoly. By that he meant to say that at least half the Scottish members, when it came to the land question—which in his opinion was the true and only test of a real Radical—were not Radicals at all, and were, therefore, though they might not think so, very good allies of the land-owning and monopolist class."

The followers of Lloyd George as supporters of those 'harassing dukes' is a denouement worthy of the finest dramatist.

Again, listen to the testimony of another brother in the Commons. Baron de Forest, vide "Daily Chronicle" of 30.12.13, sent the following priceless jewel as a Christmas box to his constituents:

"They [the Government's land proposals] do not in any way break the power of land monopoly nor do they even attempt to secure for the people, either now or in the future, the enjoyment and possession of those land values which they create by their own genius and activities."

Landowners and their lawyers will continue to extort from the land users, under one guise or another, the full competitive monopoly value of their land."

Truth from a Liberal is as rare and as precious as an oasis in a desert. Hence I place the above on record for reference until the Liberal party does something for the workers—that is to say, for ever.

"Deception is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all." The Liberal scheme will not abolish the landlords' monopoly: it will merely regulate it in the interest of our exploiters. Mr. Lloyd George's words speak louder than his good actions, even though he only whispers. The plan as he outlines it does not mean "tempering the wind to the shorn lamb," or palaces for paupers. The ferocious pheasants can sleep in peace.

* * *

There has been trouble at Kikuyu. In fact, so important has that place become that our leading comic journal, "John Bull," has asked: "What do you think of Kikuyu?" It was at this place that certain missionaries took communion with members of the Church of England. They were "brothers in the Lord," but "accidents will happen in the best regulated families." The incident makes one wonder whether a Nonconformist vegetarian objects to being saved by the Lamb of God.

Mention of Christ brings a memory of the Church—not that there is any real connection, but merely a mental association. It has often been stated that Christianity and Commercialism are Siamese twins. This extract from the "Daily Chronicle" of 29.12.13 is illuminating. In a news item headed "America's bid for China's Trade" it says:

"America's representatives are forcefully backed up by forceful American Pressmen. The American missionary also plays his part well. He probably works political economy into his evangelistic propaganda more than any missionary of any other nationality. Then there is the vast organisation of the Y.M.C.A. in China, worked almost exclusively by Americans, who are absolutely indefatigable in their work in all parts of the country, and have done more during the last five years to Americanise China than any other force operating here."

In the old book of fables it is written: "No man can serve two masters." The evangelists serve one—their profit seeking master. Christ is alleged to have ejected the money-changers from the Temple; his missionaries are now money-lenders' mannikins.

A. L. Cox.

We have in type a review of Miss Christabel Pankhurst's book "The Great Scourge," which we are compelled to hold over till next month.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

From the same town (Coventry), on the same date, we received two queries on similar general lines, though, perhaps, different in detail.

G.S. wishes to know if he would be consistent in joining the S.P.G.B., as he believes in Industrial Unionism. H.K. says he agrees with the principles of the S.P.G.B., and also with the principles of the I.W.G.B. (meaning, I suppose, the Industrial Workers of Great Britain), and asks, would he be logical in joining the S.P.G.B.

The similarity lies in both stating that they believe in Industrial Unionism. But whereas H.K. specifies the particular type he endorses, G.S. merely gives the general phrase.

There happens, however, to be a common ground of agreement between all sections of Industrial Unionism, namely, that the workers can take and hold the means of production through an economic organisation, and this whether they add or exclude political action as a detail of their case.

This basic factor necessarily places its supporters in opposition to the Socialists, who maintain that the capitalist class rules through its possession of political power, and that the economic supremacy of the masters—that is, their ownership of the means of production—is entirely dependent upon this political power, through which they make laws and raise and maintain the force (Army, Navy, Police, etc.) necessary to carry out those laws in their own class interest.

The above position is laid down briefly in the Declaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B. Hence acceptance of these principles must logically and consistently include a rejection of the nonsense that the workers can "take and hold" the means of production by an economic organisation while the master class are left in possession of the political power.

How the workers could "take and hold" while the masters had control of the fighting forces, no Industrial Unionist has ever been able to tell us, though we have had numerous debates, oral and written, with them.

G.S. and H.K., therefore, would be acting illogically and inconsistently in joining the S.P.G.B. while accepting the principles of Industrial Unionism. J. F.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

"SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR FEBRUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1st.	8th.	15th.	22th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 A. Barker	C. Elliott	H. Cooper	S. Blake
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Wallis	E. Fairbrother	A. Bays	A. Sadd
Finbury Park	7.30 A. W. Pearson	G. Seech	A. Hoskyns	A. Bays
Forest Gate (Station)	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	A. Sadd	H. Joy
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 H. King	R. Bruce	J. Myles	A. Cox
Ilford (station)	7.30 F. Vickers	A. Anderson	H. Joy	F. Vickers
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 J. Myles	A. L. Cox	L. Lytton	A. Hoskyns
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 A. Bays	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald	E. Fairbrother
Peckham, 41 Albert Rd.	7.30 J. Ward	A. Sadd	G. Seech	R. Bruce
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 A. L. Cox	J. Fitzgerald	A. Wallis	H. King
Tooting Broadway	8.0 R. H. Kent	R. H. Kent	R. H. Kent	R. H. Kent
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 C. Elliott	A. Wallis	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker
Walham Green Church	7.30 H. Joy	S. Blake	C. Elliott	H. Cooper
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 J. G. Stone	C. Baggett	A. Barker	C. Baggett
	7.30 A. Sadd	J. Wray	R. Bruce	A. Wallis
	7.30 A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson	F. Vickers	A. Anderson
	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy	C. Baggett	J. G. Stone
	7.30 G. Seech	W. Lewington	J. G. Stone	C. Elliott
	7.30 C. Baggett	A. Bays	A. Cox	J. Fitzgerald

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britannia-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
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SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 82, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch business 1st and 3rd Monds, public discussion other Monds 8.15 at 104, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.
TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 11 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Monds. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.
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Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

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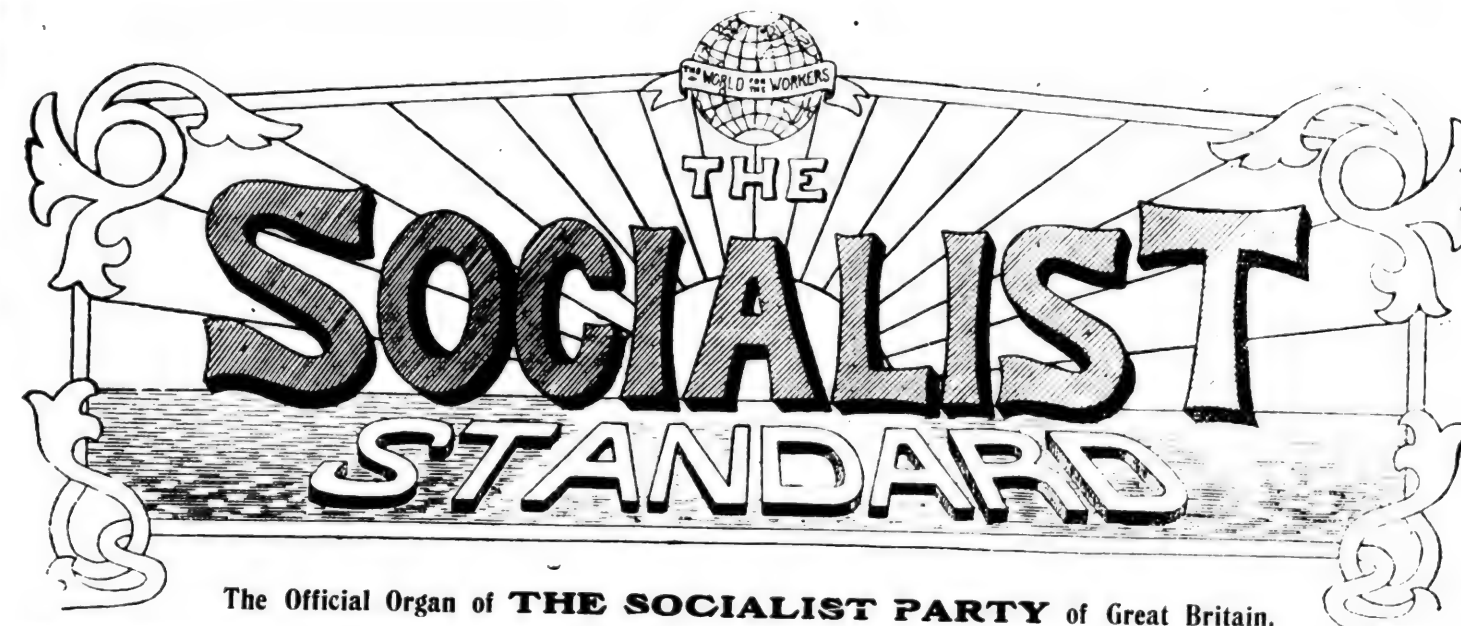
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LONDON, MARCH 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE "WASTE" OF ARMAMENTS.

THE SOCIALIST POINT OF VIEW.

SOME of the brethren have been rejoicing lately over certain statements anent "our" growing expenditure on "our" navy, and are elated because Liberal "statesmen" and others have promised to "overhaul our expenditure on armaments." So much twaddle has been talked about spending "our" money that a little hard thinking on this much over-rated question becomes necessary.

I say a little thinking because it is easily seen that to restrict the expenditure on armaments would not ensure that the cash thus saved would flow into the pockets of the workers.

The champion of the European Unity League (an international organisation existing in Piccadilly), one Sir Max Waechter, D.L., J.P., informs us through the daily Press that "the British Empire spends on her army and navy about £100,000,000 per year," and that "approximately 500,000 white officers and men are kept under arms." "If," says Sir Max, "we estimate again that these could on an average earn about £100 a year, we find that the preservation of peace costs us about £150,000,000 annually."

"With this amount," the gallant knight goes on, "we could rapidly abolish the slums, rebuild our towns, resettle the country, improve education, and could vastly increase the prosperity of the people."

Very vague, that term, "the people." If the WORKING CLASS is meant, our D.L. etc. would find it somewhat difficult to persuade the masters who control this expenditure to spend it in the workers' interest.

"Wages are higher in America and Australia," says our peace advocate, "partly because wealth is not drained away by the mad race for armaments." But is the American or Australian worker the better off for the increased money wage? There are slums in the great cities of the United States, whilst unemployment and poverty are rampant in both countries. And if money wages are higher, so, too, is the cost of living.

In the usual language of the scare-mongers we are told that "the nations of Europe and European civilisation itself threaten to break down under the burden. The people are groaning and muttering. Dissatisfaction is spreading apace. The tension is rapidly approaching breaking point." "The nations" are apparently contemplating "a great war" in order to avoid bankruptcy; "European civilisation is in danger of being overwhelmed," and so on.

True, indeed, is it that the workers of Europe are "groaning and muttering," and so, too, are the workers of America. The iron heel of capitalism falls as heavily and grinds as surely on one continent as on the other. It grinds as

cruelly in peace as in war, in "prosperous" times as in periods of "depression," and the load of misery and toil that is saddled upon working-class backs is as heavy whether kept there with big armies and navies or with small ones.

The expense of armaments falls not upon the workers. They are robbed of the wealth no matter whether it be spent on the "harem" of a Yankee millionaire or the armaments of a capitalist State. And if the predicted bankruptcy refers to the capitalist, how does the E.U.L. account for the fact that, while England's yearly expenditure on armaments has increased by about 8½ millions in nine years, annual taxed incomes have grown by 283 millions in the same period? Is this a sign of bankruptcy?

And, Sir Max, if with this enormous increase of profits "slums" have not "been abolished, and towns rebuilt," upon what sort of reasoning are we to suppose that the amount saved from "bloated armaments" would be spent "to benefit suffering mankind by combating poverty and disease"?

Says Sir Max: "Peace is proving more costly than war... The nations of Europe are rushing into bankruptcy and revolution." Expenditure on armaments is waste, and waste causes poverty; yet while the E.U.L. is to stop all this, "every statesman, every soldier, and every patriot can join the League. He can be a member of the League and yet, without inconsistency, advocate the strengthening of Army and Navy. Queer logic, indeed!"

Of course, the peace-loving Liberals are in the van, and with blatant effrontery the party largely responsible for the enormous naval increases, and who started Dreadnought building, are carrying out a programme of increased expenditure and at the same time rallying supporters to the standard of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." The explanation is easy. Home Rule is beginning to smell; the insurance swindle is in a state of decomposition, and the benefits to be derived from the nebulous land campaign are not visible to the naked eye.

As might be expected, that "Labour" daily, the "Daily Citizen," is in full agreement with Lloyd George and what he describes as "the overwhelming extravagance of our expenditure on armaments." They are also, no doubt, in full agreement with Sir John Brunner, President of the National Liberal Federation. The Labour crowd usually are very friendly with this owner of chemical hells. The last deal they made together did not come off. The Labour leaders backed the "Brunner Bill," which was to introduce our children to the delights of the Brunner factory at a tenderer age. Now that Brunner has

appealed to all Liberals and Liberal associations and to "all who subscribe to that good old Liberal doctrine of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," to pass resolutions calling for reduction in "our" naval expenditure, the Labour leaders, as good Liberals, will doubtless oblige.

And Brother George—what has he done that has so powerful an effect on these "independent" labourers? He spent his Christmas at Criccieth, and during his few days of leisure "two subjects have been closely studied." One subject to which he has given a passing thought is that little matter of the land, the other "is the armaments problem as it affects this country and the other great European powers."

One would have thought that enough to occupy "a few days of leisure," but our forceful Chancellor found time to "tramp over the Welsh hills and discuss very frankly to his visitors."

And what did Brother George say? Nothing very startling. He "thinks that it is the most favourable moment for us to overhaul our expenditure on armaments that has presented itself for at least twenty years"; that it seems to him "that we can afford just quietly to maintain the superiority we possess," and that "if we maintain that standard no one can complain."

Not much encouragement here to the possessors of the "good old Liberal doctrine." When the good old shibboleth was enthusiastically preached the Liberals were out of office, since then, in office, they have increased the expenditure to such an extent that the "scare-monger Tories" turn green with envy. They were going to reduce expenditure on armaments; now, after extending the bloated estimates (peace-loving George increased naval expenditure almost 50 per cent. during his term of office as Chancellor of the Exchequer), they will maintain the present standard (which means building two ships to somebody's one), and this is hailed as a return to the "good old Liberal doctrine." And to maintain an expenditure which is described as "organised insanity" is a policy that commends itself to P.S.A. Labourites.

But what is the cry of Brunner & Co.? Do they want to abolish "our naval supremacy"? Are they keen on the abolition of a standing army trained to kill? Is this an attempt to put into effect the instruction of "Gentle Jesus," or do they want to save their pockets?

Says George: "Some means of lightening the rates must form an essential part of the programme of both political parties in the immediate future," as "the burden of the local rates are becoming more than the business men can bear." And he continues, "the burden of the

rates interfering with our industry." Sir John wants "to send a message of relief to British taxpayers." They realise, of course, that all-round increase of armaments leaves none the stronger, and they want to stop it.

A fighting force is necessary to capitalism, but it filches some of the surplus and the profit-mongers roar. But what has this to do with the worker, who is supposed to be represented by the "Daily Citizen" and the Labour crowd?

Let the vote-catching Lib Labs preach armament reduction in the constituencies where the instruments of war are manufactured. There the working class voter knows that to reduce expenditure on armaments is to throw men out of work. The vast sums spent in the mad race to get warships afloat are waste, but waste means bread for those engaged in the production of the wealth which is wasted.

Mr. H. Samuel, speaking in Yorkshire, told us that "all expenditure on armaments is waste—as much waste as if the money were spent in employing men to dig a hole and employing others to fill it up again." ("Daily Chronicle," 16.1.14.) Imagine how horrified the unemployed labourer would be to be paid for digging holes and filling them up again—at the expense of the rates, too!

One can understand the concern of the "business man," who is "bearing the burden," but why should the Labour crowd object?

They are the capitalist economist and prate of "useful work" for the unemployed, forgetting that if the work to be done is useful, and therefore necessary, the unemployed only get jobs at the expense of those who would otherwise do the work. The Salvation Army has shown the folly of "useful" work as a cure for unemployment. Booth & God employ broken carpenters at their "elevators," pay starvation wages, and throw trade unionists out of work.

Abolish waste and the capitalist will have less expenditure to meet, i.e., less wages to pay, and the worker, who lives by wages, will be worse off. Is this why the Labour tail of the Liberal dog is so ready to wag?

Within this most absurd of foolish systems, waste is a blessing to many of the workers. True, expenditure on armaments is "organised insanity," but the social order is neither sane nor inspiring. The greater part of our lives is wasted. It has been calculated that with modern machinery two hours of labour daily would suffice for the material wants of all. With the sane reorganisation of society such as the Socialist advocates, the elimination of waste would hurt none and would benefit all. For the saving of effort in the production of the social necessities would not mean "unemployment," but either greater wealth or more leisure.

It is only when class distinctions are swept away, when idle parasites have been wiped out and there is no slave class to be repressed and no robber class to repress them, that reduction of armaments can be accomplished. Until that day arrives—the day when the forces of war, controlled by an enlightened working class, will be used to abolish war and the instruments of war forever—the workers may accept the fact of increasing expenditure on armaments with philosophic calmness, born of the knowledge that waste is at their masters' expense, and from the workers' point of view is good. TWZ.

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DEBATE

TARIFF REFORM.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

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AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

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JOTTINGS.

DURING the whole of the Labour Party Conference, which lasted four days, the word "Socialism" was only mentioned once; that was when Mr. Bruce Glasier said they did not intend to discuss it!

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald told an interviewer on his return from India that the Conference "would be a record one as far as common sense was concerned." In the light of after events this can be taken as a reflection on the delegates. Mr. MacDonald told them to vote this way, and that—and they did!

One contemporary ("Modern Society") wants to know: "Why did Mr. Ramsay MacDonald return from the Commission in India six weeks before the rest of the Commission left Bombay for home?" Well now, isn't it obvious? Who could imagine a Labour Party Conference without Mr. MacDonald? What use is a ship without a rudder?

Speaking at Glasgow on the Sunday succeeding the Conference, he asked his audience "to realise that class feeling would not achieve Socialism. Class feeling was the mark of capitalism, not Socialism. Socialism united all classes and lifted them up to a common level of humanity." ("Daily Citizen," 2.2.14.)

You will notice how he lets himself go on the question of Socialism *outside* the Conference, at which all reference to the subject was carefully avoided.

I wonder how many "classes" Mr. MacDonald thinks there are in society? So far, Socialists have only discovered two—the working class and the non-working class. Socialism would not "unite" these two—there can be no unity between the robber and the robbed—but would abolish the conditions which create a non-working class, thus compelling them to take part in the work of useful production—or starve. Socialism offers no other alternative. Socialism implies one class—the workers—not a combination of "classes."

Whilst it is true that class feeling is the mark of capitalism, Mr. MacDonald has no right to condemn it as if it was something repugnant. It is the duty of Socialists to foster and direct it. Class action is necessary in order to achieve Socialism, but class feeling, born of class-consciousness, is the first essential. But Mr. MacDonald doesn't think so.

"I have been in Spain: once. I was there a night and a day, because I could not get a train to take me away sooner. I shall never go again. I prefer the niggers in the West Indies to the Spaniards. I think black devils are less loathsome than those of lighter hue." (Robert Blatchford, "Clarion," 23.1.14.)

"I claim that men should not be classified as good and bad, but as fortunate and unfortunate; that they should be pitied and not blamed; helped instead of being punished. I base this claim upon the self-evident and undeniable fact that man has no part in the creation of his own nature." (Robert Blatchford in "Not Guilty," page 10.) With his usual consistency!

Christ as the saviour of mankind looks like getting left since Lloyd George took the field in his self-appointed task of redeeming mankind. In his speeches at Swindon and Bedford, the accounts he gave of the lot of the poor were so heartrending that one was tempted to express the fear that the country would not be able to stand another dose of the same kind without being washed away in a flood of compassionate tears, generated by the soul-stirring, heart-searching, and blood-curdling oratory of the Liberal Messiah. Anyway, he chanced it—and to some purpose. And, if report speaks true, he hasn't finished yet.

Whether his visit to Glasgow immediately following the Labour Party Conference was only a coincidence I leave an open question. Certain it is that interest in the one quickly fell flat when it became known that the saviour was due in their midst. He said nothing new, of

course. In describing the rotten conditions of this country he reiterated only what has been stated before—and sniffed at. Liberals have constantly denied what Mr. Lloyd George is now hysterically affirming. Said he:

"Take our cities, the great cities of a great Empire. Right in the heart of them everywhere you have ugly quagmires of human misery, seething, rotting, at last fermenting. We pass them by every day on the way to our comfortable homes. We forget Divine justice never passes by a great wrong, and you can hear, carried by the breezes from the north, the south, the east, and the west, ominous rumblings. The chariots of retribution are drawing nigh. How long will all these injustices last for myriads of men, women, and children created in the image of God—how long? I believe it is coming to an end." (Cheers.)

So do we—but it won't be in the shape of a "Divine justice" personified in Lloyd George. When Socialists have pointed out the same facts (without the sloppy trimmings), they have been scoffed and jeered at as "agitators, humbugs, and discontents." But coming from the lips of a Cabinet Minister on the platform of St. Andrew's Hall—oh! what a difference!

Apart from the disgusting spectacle of how easy it is to gull and deceive these poor fools in order to capture support for another lease of robbery—it may yet possess an element of good. The awakening will be all the ruder! "It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good." Yet I wonder how many of his audience remembered his words at Limehouse—"Deception is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all crimes."

One thing: the Labour Party won't thank him for queering their pitch!

In the course of a discussion at a meeting of the Carnarvon Town Council on the County Council's proposed by-laws for regulating vehicular traffic, Sir John Roberts pointed out that some of the vehicles now used as motor-buses were only "bus bodies put on the chassis of old motor-cars never intended to carry on their axles the enormous weight of passengers which these buses carried."

It is a common-place enough saying that human life is cheap—so common-place in fact that, although the sacrifice of human life is increasingly evident every day, it passes with the majority as something that is inevitable—something that is part of the order of things. Investigation usually reveals the fact that most disasters are caused through cheapness, both of material and labour, while experience shows the acquisition of profits to be the prime incentive.

Only the working-class as a rule travel by motor-bus, so perhaps that explains the callous disregard of possible accidents shown in their construction.

Mr. Henry Ford, of the Ford Motor Co., of Detroit, has recently announced that he is prepared to divide his profits with his employees. He intends to reduce the working day from nine hours to eight, without reduction of pay. Indeed, the pay is to be increased—from 11/6 to £1 a day for all employees over the age of twenty-two. On the face of it, this looks like philanthropy with a vengeance, but Mr. Ford has another name for it—good business.

It would appear that the Ford Co. were going to be cleaned out of their profits, but that word "good business" gives us furiously to think.

Hitherto the Ford Co. have paid low wages—and made big profits; now it is proposed to pay big wages and—lose profits? Not on your life! Let me show you how it is done.

Ford intends to increase his profits, and to do this he is figuring on getting absolutely the pick of the labour market by his "generous" offer. From the increased staff of 22,000 who will be employed he is expecting to get increased efficiency in every part of the trade. This means that he will specialize on each job. The very fact that an increased wage and a dividend are to be the outcome of their activity, will spur his employees to greater efforts than ever; even to competing with each other inside the shop, for the laggard is to be eliminated. It is expected

that under this system the worker, being a "partner," will boost it for all he is worth, and turn out more and better work than under the former system. Formerly the record for assembling a car stood at twenty-six minutes. This is now going to be beaten—indeed, has been beaten, at their works in Manchester (Eng.) Perhaps the following may be interesting:

"In a little clear space in the centre of the assembling department, a bare frame lay surrounded by wheels, springs, axles, and, in fact, every article required for a complete motor car. A few yards further on, supported on wooden trestles, was a black enamelled four-seated body. A horn screeched. Eight men hurried forward and commenced to work furiously, but in absolute silence. Barely a minute had passed, but the front wheels (with tyres already attached) were on and the springs firmly fixed, while the back of the frame rested on two large jacks. The engine was next lifted into place. Two minutes later it was tightly bolted and the rear wheels and driving gear were in position. Seven minutes passed and the chassis stood on the ground complete in every detail. The body was lifted on, the wind screen fixed, running boards, mud-guards attached, and at the end of eleven minutes the car stood ready. With a cargo of six excited men the car was driven out of the factory and round the works. Later she was thoroughly tested with a good run into the country. The speed with which the whole assembling work was carried out was a revelation to all present, and was only possible with the perfect organisation which exists in the erecting of a Ford car from the beginning to the end. This perfect organisation of labour, it is claimed, is the only thing to account for the low price of the Ford car considering its power and general efficiency." (Daily Mail, 24.1.14.)

"Perfect organisation of labour"; that is the secret! Though each individual may get more wages than ever he got before, the fact will remain that he will have to work harder and still harder—or get out. By specializing and employing only highly skilled workers; by eliminating the slowest of these and speeding the rest up to a higher standard of skill and rapidity, Ford claims that the cost of the labour power will actually be less than before.

Another point. Having regard to the fact that 10,000 men clamoured for jobs in one day at Detroit, what is to prevent this factor from operating against those who are "fortunate" enough to retain their jobs, by lowering the price of labour-power?

Parliament had hardly settled down to "business" when the Labour Party defined its position by once more saving the Government. The circumstances were exactly the same as have happened before—voting against their own amendment when the Tories tried to force it to a division. Readers will be familiar with the details, as great publicity has been the outcome. I only mention it because it is the sequel to a statement made by Mr. MacDonald on his return from India. Referring to the support they had offered the Liberals last session on the question of Churchill's extravagance, and which was ignored, he remarked to an interviewer of the "Daily Citizen," "We can afford to let bygones be bygones, however, if they (the Liberals) will support us this session."

Not that we expect them to do anything else than support the Liberals; but, unfortunately, there are thousands of workers in this country who are deluded into supporting them, fondly believing that they are getting independent representation when such is not the case. Significant were the words of Mr. Philip Snowden at the Labour Party Conference. "So long as they had Labour members returned by Liberal votes, as nine-tenths of the Labour members were, they had no right to expect independent action from them in the House of Commons. It is clearly evident that there was no Labour member in the House who did not know that he was dependent for his seat in that House on the good-will of those who belonged to the other political parties."

Which is a damning admission, for it shows they possess a programme which can cater for all shades of opinion—except Socialist.

TOM SALA.

SOCIALISM OR MALTHUSIANISM.

THE Malthusian League has issued a leaflet over the signature of Bessie Drysdale, which is supposed to contain a reply to Socialist criticism. As in the case of all capitalist defenders, her chief weapon is misrepresentation. "Socialism, while taking away your independence," she says, in a reckless and unsubstantiated assumption that we have any, "would make you limit your family."

Under the present system of society the working class have no independence. They are at the mercy of the capitalist class, who drive them in desperation on strike, lock them out, or throw them on the streets unprovided for when they can no longer produce profits.

Let the working-man examine his so-called independence: he will find it a myth. Granted he has a living wage—in which case he is fortunate—his freedom is strictly circumscribed. His opportunities for recreation or enjoyment are rare, and his fear of the "sack" compels him to submit to degrading and irksome conditions of employment. If he leaves one master for another he does not change the conditions, but only the master. Under the "sheltering" wing of some capitalist concern he is compelled to produce wealth for the shareholders. He gets his living (!) wage; they get the results of his labour and live in luxury. He works under compulsion, and is fed with "slow poisons," because they are cheaper than pure foods.

The Greek or Roman chattel slave and the feudal serf enjoyed more real freedom and happiness in one year than the modern wage-slave does in all his life. His "time off" is largely spent in vacant admiration of "our marvellous powers of production," and the lavish display of wealth indulged in by his masters—or in making guesses as to how much it would make him independent.

"Socialism would make you limit your family," says Miss Drysdale. But what does capitalism do now? We have an answer to this query in a further question asked by the writer of the leaflet. "Would it not be better to have two or three happy, well-cared-for little ones, in a real home, than six or seven struggling to live in a state of hunger and misery?"

"Socialism would make you limit your family," says this india-rubber prophetess, who knows so little of Socialism that she talks of a "Socialist government." But capitalism, she admits, condemns helpless children to "hunger and misery"—because their parents, by their industry be it noted, produce the necessities of life in such abundance that they glut the markets and throw themselves out of work.

In most publications of this kind, when deliberate falsehood is not apparent the most stupid ignorance is displayed. For instance, what thinking person would make use of the following sentence? "No government could possibly provide the necessities of life for any number that parents choose to bring into the world." Anyone in possession of ordinary common sense knows that governments do not even provide the bullets with which the workers are plugged when on strike, let alone their necessities of life.

"You have the whip hand of employers and capitalists if you will keep down the supply of labour" is another statement disproved by experience. The population of Ireland has been reduced by emigration fifty per cent. in fifty years, yet the Murphys and Dublin slum owners still dictate working-class conditions there. France, where the Government, in the interest of the class they represent, pay a bonus on babies, is neither better nor worse than any other capitalist country, so far as working-class conditions are concerned.

One piece of Malthusian advice I would repeat here—though not to be taken in the sense of limitation of families. "Be wise, men and women. Your salvation is in your own hands, and yours only."

F. F.

A Central Economic Class has been started at the Head Office, and intending students are urged to attend every Thursday evening at 8. The Class Struggle is on—be ye prepared!

PROGRESS IN PECKHAM.

THE Peckham Branch celebrated the first anniversary of its taking over the premises in Albert Road by holding a social on Saturday, Jan. 10. This event, which was held at the branch premises, and was the first of its kind ever attempted by the branch, was a great success.

Although not marked by any event of outstanding importance, the past twelve months have witnessed sound and steady progress of Socialism in Peckham. The consistent propaganda on Peckham Triangle; the opening up of new ground at Peppy's Road, New Cross, at Hanover Park, Rye Lane, at Asylum Rd., New Cross, and at Father Redcap, Camberwell, has resulted in a steady increase in membership and record sales of literature.

At one of our outdoor meetings a local Liberal challenged our comrade Joy to debate. It appears, however, that this must have been done in the heat of the moment, for when we got into communication with him he declined to accept any title to the debate which would allow our representative to place the position of the Socialist Party before the audience. This, of course, made the debate impossible from our point of view.

With the advent of winter we recommenced our indoor meetings at our Albert Road Hall on Saturday evenings. An economic class is also being held—on Friday evenings. Friends and opponents in the district are cordially invited to these meetings, at which good discussions take place, while those agreeing with our principles and policy should at once join with us. In Peckham, as elsewhere, there is a mass of working-class superstition, ignorance, and confusion to be cleared up, and to accomplish this needs the organised efforts of all who realise that the way to emancipation lies through Socialism.

BRANCH SCRIBE.

PARTY PARAGRAPHS.

THE 10th Annual Conference of The Socialist Party of Great Britain will be held on April 10th and 11th in the FAIRFAX HALLS, LONDON, N. Proceedings will commence on Good Friday at 11 a.m. prompt.

A very important Agenda is being prepared, and matters of vital importance to the movement will come up for consideration. Every Branch is urged to send its full number of Delegates, and they should be early in their places in the Conference Hall. Party members and all interested in the Party are also urged to attend.

The Annual Re-union of Members and Friends will be held on Good Friday evening from 7.30 to 12. The programme promises even to excel previous efforts, but the charge for admission remains the same. Tickets are sixpence each, and should now be secured by everybody.

A new Branch of the Party has been formed in North Kensington, and Branches are in the course of formation in East London, and Grays, Essex.

During the recent Parliamentary bye elections in Bethnal Green, Poplar, etc., the Executive Committee sent resolutions to the Press repudiating the confusionist candidates and asking all Socialists in those constituencies to write the word "Socialism" across their ballot papers.

The Southend Branch resumes its outdoor propaganda this month, and will give ample evidence of its vitality and virility throughout the season. London comrades and speakers visiting Southend will be welcomed by the local members and afforded every facility to enable them to combine propaganda with pleasure.

To celebrate the 43rd Anniversary of the Commune of Paris, large indoor meetings are being organised in West Ham, Tooting, Peckham, and Battersea. For further particulars see advertisement appearing on another page, also posters and handbills which are being issued.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, articles, correspondence, no advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom money orders should be made payable. The *SOCIALIST STANDARD* is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free ... 1s. 6d.
Six ... 9d.

The Socialist Standard.

SUNDAY,



MAR. 1, 1914.

THE LATEST "UNREST."

TRADE Unionists in this country, or at least that section of them who are roused to passion when the obvious comes with unexpected suddenness upon them, are beginning to boil with "righteous indignation" over the illegal deportation of trade union officials and strike leaders from South Africa. Most of these trade unionists can remember as far back as the South African War, and it might do them good at this moment to pass in review the emotions that possessed them in that time of "Mafeking." Are they as much wiser as they are older? Alas! it is to be feared that they are not.

The relation of things is plain, and that the rank and file of the workers of the country fail to discern that relation shows they are very little wiser in 1914 than they were in 1899. These are the facts. When the Transvaal was an independent country a British government did not deem it beyond its province to resort to the test of arms, ostensibly because certain wage-slaves were as voteless as millions of men in this country are to-day. The map is painted red. It is realised that local circumstances render the "labour problem" open to rather different treatment to that ordinarily depended upon at home. In order that they might be able to disclaim all responsibility for what is coming, the Liberals give the South Africans "autonomy." They realise the unfortunate necessity of having to leave "Imperial" troops in the country in order to keep down black, white, and brown wage-slaves, but they say to their colonial agents: "For God's sake don't use these forces until your own are no longer able to control affairs, for we shall be having a general election here shortly, and the Labour Party may not have time to wash the taste of it out of the workers' mouths."

And it is this Liberal Government, who aids and abets the mining magnates and others to smash the workers in South Africa, that the Labour Party supports and saves from defeat time after time.

This, really, is the most disquieting aspect of the whole affair—that those very keen judges, the traitors banded together in the Labour Party, who hold their seats by working-class ignorance, know very well that they have nothing to fear from clinging to the Liberal party. They know how little the workers will learn from the incident—thanks largely to the confusion created by their own corruption—and how soon they will forget the little they do learn—thanks again to the Labour Party red-berrings and side-trackings.

We have been over the whole ground recently in these columns, but it is worth while to reiterate certain points. First among these is the naked manifestation of the class struggle in the way in which legality is set at naught when it is the mine-owner and his agent acting against the miner, and in the way that same legality is the refuge of the home Government when it is called upon to defend the workers against the illegal acts of the capitalists. Another point is the enormous power the ruling class have in their armed forces, and the futility of the Syndicalist nostrum of "direct action."

THE STORY OF A GREAT FRIENDSHIP.

THE "Manchester Guardian" of December 27th last published a very interesting article under the title "Manchester and Modern Socialism," which we reproduce below. In the same issue of our contemporary an editorial was devoted to the subject, in which it was said: "Instances are not uncommon of men of business who have devoted their leisure or the years of their retirement to research and writing, but there can be few parallels to the case of Frederick Engels, who for twenty years pursued a distasteful business career in Manchester in order that he might support Karl Marx, who was then destitute in London, and enable him to pursue his studies in philosophy and economics and publish the results."

The names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are sufficiently well known even in the non-Socialist world to lend a profound interest to the four volumes of their correspondence, which recently appeared in Germany. These men were the founders of the modern Socialist movement, and certainly their personalities, as they appear in their letters, are very striking. Both men lived for the greater part of their lives in England, and it was to the fact that Marx lived in London, while Engels settled in 1850 in Manchester and remained there for twenty years, that we owe the correspondence between them.

The circumstances which brought Engels to Manchester are interesting. His father was a large cotton manufacturer at Barmen (the firm is still in existence there) and also partner in Manchester with an old friend, Gottfried Ermen. The firm was called Ermen and Engels, and is the same which is now known as Ermen and Roby. Young Frederick was sent as a youth to Manchester, and while there learnt a good deal from Robert Owen and the Chartist, in whose organs, the "New Moral World" and the "Northern Star," he frequently wrote. At that time Marx was editing at Cologne a democratic paper, and Engels acted as correspondent to it. In this way the two became associated, and afterwards, in 1844, they met in Paris, and from that time until the death of Marx, in 1883, they remained faithful friends and collaborators.

The revolution of 1848 took Engels back to Germany, where he took part in the armed insurrection in Baden. He had to flee the country, went to Switzerland, and then came to England, where Marx had settled, after being successively expelled from Germany, Paris, and Brussels. Both were in straitened circumstances, but Engels, being unmarried and having a rich father, was potentially much better off than his friend, who had a wife and family and could only live by his pen. It is true that his wife, a sister of a Minister in one of the German States, had good connections, but the latter could never forgive her having married an ordinary doctor of philosophy, of Jewish extraction, who, moreover, soon developed into a dangerous revolutionary and Socialist agitator. In consequence, Engels decided to sacrifice his own political career and to enter the Manchester business in order that at least Marx, of whom he had the highest possible opinion, might be enabled to continue his theoretical and practical work.

This, then, it was which finally brought Engels to Manchester, and there he remained till the autumn of 1870, working with much disgust, but with unabated zeal, in the business in order to sustain his friend. What this meant to Marx can be gathered from his letters, and especially from one which he wrote to his friend on August 16, 1867, at 2 a.m., informing him of the despatch of the last proofs of his great work, "Capital."

To you and to you only I owe it that this has been possible. Without your self-sacrifice for my sake I should never have been able to do all this tremendous work. I embrace you full of thanks. Salut, my dear, faithful friend.

On an earlier occasion Marx wrote:

Without you I would never have completed my work, and I assure you my conscience was always burdened with the heavy thought that it was chiefly for my sake that you had permitted your splendid abilities to waste away and rust in commerce, besides sharing in all my miseries into the bargain.

This was the mere truth, for had it not been for

Engels, Marx and his family would have simply starved to death. On many occasions the latter were on the brink of disaster, but each time the ungrudging hand of Engels would come to their rescue.

The two friends, in spite of the distance separating them, lived one life and did one work. As chiefs of the "Communist" party in Germany, they acted always in unison, communicating to each other every letter they received and every thought which occurred in their minds. Their correspondence is one huge looking glass in which every political event in the world was reflected. And each of them was a voracious student. Marx would seek relaxation from his hard economic studies or from the miseries of his life in mathematics, natural science, and even astronomy, while Engels, who would often work till late at night, studied languages and archaeology—Slavonic, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, Irish, not to speak of Russian, Serbian, Spanish,—as well as military science, in which he attained great proficiency.

For a number of years, beginning with 1851, Marx wrote to the "New York Tribune" on international affairs, and we learn from the correspondence that almost all the articles on military matters were written really by Engels, and excited much comment in military quarters on either side of the Atlantic. He also wrote a good deal on foreign affairs for the "Manchester Guardian," and later, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, he contributed military comment to the "Pall Mall Gazette," which was then edited by Greenwood. These latter articles were also much read, and even reprinted by the "Times." It may be remarked also that Engels used regularly to transmit the "Manchester Guardian" to Marx, who had a great interest in following the movements of the cotton market, as one can see from the pages of "Capital."

Engels first lived at Tennant Street, and then moved to 86, Mornington Street, Stockport Rd. His office seemed to have been situated at 7, Southgate, off Deansgate. Thither for the most part would the letters of Marx be directed under the cover of the firm, as they were believed to have frequently been tampered with at the post office. Another convenient address was that of Professor Schorlemmer, of Owens College, the celebrated chemist, who was a great friend of the two, and liked to discuss with them questions of natural science and political economy. Yet a third address was that of Dr. Gumpert, their "physician-in-ordinary," and of Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, who was very attached to them. When in 1869 Engels left business a well-to-do man and could guarantee his friend a solid and steady income, Marx's health had already been so broken that he could no longer work, and the remaining volumes of his works were left unfinished, to be edited after his death by Engels. Marx's wife died in 1881, and two years later he followed her to the grave and was buried by her side in Highgate Cemetery. Engels died in 1895.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

IN COMMEMORATION OF

THE 43rd ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

COMMUNE OF PARIS

WILL BE HELD

Under the auspices of the S.P.G.B. as under.

STRATFORD TOWN HALL,
SUNDAY, MARCH 15th, 1914, 7.30 p.m.

COLLYER HALL, PECKHAM,
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18th, 1914, 8 p.m.

GRAVENY RD. SCHOOLS, TOOTING,
SATURDAY, MARCH 21st, 1914, 8 p.m.

LATCHMERE BATHS, BATTERSEA,
SUNDAY, MARCH 22nd, 1914, 7.30 p.m.

Admission Free. All Invited.

"SOCIALISM AND RELIGION."

OUR REPLY TO THE CRITICISM OF OUR PAMPHLET.

In the booklet in question ("Socialism and Religion") Christianity has been proved to have an earthly, not a supernatural, origin, and to be a superstition in kinship with the fears of the most ignorant savage. Christianity has been shown also in the pages of that pamphlet to be the hypocritical enemy of science, the constant enemy of the working class, and the buttress of oppression. Therefore the Rev. "Philotheus" ridiculous assertion that the pamphlet which he criticises is not an attack on the Christian position would not deceive a baby, and necessarily fails to cover his confessed inability to defend his creed.

Small wonder, then, that he has to resort to empty bombast about "facts" like a stage brigand calling for "wine." Moreover, the points he does elect to deal with are none of them vital, and if they were as our critic wishes them to appear, the position laid down in the Party pamphlet would not, as a whole, be shaken in any way. Let us, however, expose his pretended "facts."

THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION.

Our opponent describes as "quite untrue" the statement in the pamphlet regarding the general acceptance of ancestor worship as the earliest form of religion by students of primitive culture, and to prove this he makes the utterly false assertion that "Caspari and Le Bon alone agree with Spencer." No one with any knowledge of the subject could make such an absurd statement—a statement which completely condemns his whole argument. It is only necessary to mention a single name, such as, for example, Lippert, to expose "Philotheus'" ignorance or worse.

The author of "The Evolution of the Idea of God" says (preface): "On the whole I have accepted the theory which traces the origin of the belief in gods to primeval ancestor-worship, or rather, corpse-worship, as against the rival theory which traces its origin to a supposed primitive animism." "Philotheus" cites Tyler, according to the loose classification of a certain encyclopedia, yet a perusal of his "Primitive Culture" shows him to be, in the main, a supporter of Spencer's view. This is even more completely the case with regard to Professor Edward Jenks, while Professor W. H. Hudson (who, it need hardly be said, is among those in agreement with Spencer) says in his "Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," with regard to the general question of anthropomorphism, of which some form of ancestor-worship is the only explanation: "That all early religious conceptions are absolutely anthropomorphic, both in their positive aspects and their limitations, is now admitted by all students of culture history; and we may here notice in passing, the striking harmony of this fact with the general theory of ancestor-worship above outlined. Man was not only the primitive type of deity, as Dr. Tylor has said; he was the primitive deity."

It is scarcely necessary to do more here than refer the reader to the many authorities cited in "The Evolution of the Idea of God," and to the overwhelming mass of evidence on this matter in the first volume of Spencer's "Principles of Sociology." But what are the names blindly given by "Philotheus" to show that Spencer's views are not accepted to-day? Spencer's work was published in 1876. Now the "modern" authorities of our critic are Le Bon, a contemporary of and disputant with Voltaire; Comte, who died in 1857; Crewzer, who died in 1858; and Schelling, who died in 1854! For the rest, Canon Cook, Rawlinson, Caird, and Flint were theologians, whose evidence can no more be accepted as unprejudiced than can that of a brewer regarding the social utility of beer!

Our critic further says that supposing the fact to be as stated in the pamphlet, what caused it? To this the pamphlet gives a complete answer on pages 9, 10, and 11.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

The idea upon which religion (or any other thing) is based is distinct from the definition of the complete developed thing, and it is significant that "Philotheus" confuses so elementary a matter. In all recognised religions this idea of a "spiritual" life is fundamental. See Spencer and Tylor. See also "Philotheus'" public library test. According to Chambers' Encyclopedia, "Dr. Tylor takes the belief in spiritual beings as a minimum definition of religion." For a fuller and better definition see the pamphlet, p. 9: "Originally and in essence throughout, religion is a belief in the existence of supernatural beings, and in the observance of rites and ceremonies in order to avert their anger or gain their goodwill." Allen and Hudson give somewhat similar definition.

Our opponent goes on to make the quite untrue assertion that the Hebrews did not believe in life after death. This, from a clergyman, is diverting. Let us again apply his public library test. The Encyclopedia Britannica (10th ed., Vol. 8, p. 536) says: "The Hebrews believed that the heathen and unjust would remain in the death sleep of Shael, while faithful Israel received back the soul in the resurrection." Other encyclopedias make similar statements. Better still, see the Old Testament: Daniel 12, 2; Psalms 16, 10 R.V.; Isa. 26, 19; 2 Macc. VII. 14 and Jos. This should convince even a Christian! So much for another of the sky-pilot's "facts."

MIRACLES.

"Philotheus" asserts that miracles are not now, and implies that they have not been in the past, adduced as proof of the divine origin of religion. Every thinking man knows the contrary. The fact has a continuous history in Christianity, from Aaron's rod and the plagues of Egypt to the cast-off surgical appliances which decorate the church at Lourdes to-day. Lecky, in his "Rationalism in Europe," Chap. 2, says: "Miracles . . . are the divine credentials of an inspired messenger announcing doctrines which could not otherwise be established." He also says (same chapter) "The Church of Rome still maintains the continuance of 'miraculous powers.' So much for the 'public library test' of another 'fact.'"

That ministers abandon the crude faith of their fathers and adapt themselves to the rising flood of knowledge by re-interpreting the scriptures according to the needs of the moment is undeniable; but one has only to listen occasionally at the street corner, or go to worship with simple peasants, to realise that the sincere (if ignorant) Christian does believe in, pray for, and expect the miraculous, giving instances of "divine power" for the deletion of the sceptic.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

Our opponent's next "fact" is a denial that the cardinal ethic of Christianity is one of submission. To prove this he directs us to look up in a Concordance—what? Submission? Oh dear no! Something very different. In his innocence "Philotheus" does not see that to dispute the statement in the pamphlet it would be more logical to look up the references to submission and cognate ideas. This is what readers should do. They will then see that in the New Testament—the essentially Christian part of the Bible—meekness, humility, non-resistance, and self-effacement are preached in no uncertain voice—a fact of which Christians boast until Socialists point out the dire consequences of that ethic. The New Testament says: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," etc., etc. Our opponent says that the quotation from Professor Seeley "turns and reads" us. The only quotation from Prof. Seeley which actually bears on this point in the pamphlet is the following. Readers may judge of its definiteness.

"Christianity provided a complete change in the attitude of the people to the emperor. It made their loyalty more intense but confined it within definite limits. It strengthened in them the feeling of submissive reverence for governments as such. It encouraged the disposition of the time to political passiveness."

Let us, moreover, again turn the "public

test" upon our opponent. Nelson's Encyclopedia, article "Jesus Christ," says:

"In that time of sorrow was born the central and distinctive idea of Christianity, the idea of victory through service and not through the assertion of the self, in however exalted a fashion; and with this went the determination to renounce the help of physical force, and to commit the issues to the sphere of the spirit only, even to the acceptance of apparent defeat. These were the lines upon which his whole mission was pursued."

On the next point, regarding the other-worldliness of Christian teaching, "Philotheus" fully admits the facts as to the past, but endeavours to minimise them as to the present. He wastes his time. That teaching is still heard to-day, and that it is less prominent than formerly is solely due to the melting away of Christianity under the rays of the rising sun of scientific knowledge. On these points the history of Christianity, as well as its documents, shows that the sincerity and fervour of Christianity are the measure of its other-worldliness and self-abnegation. As faith withers and sincerity weakens, so do nominal Christians repudiate the antique tenets of their faith.

"That individualism is of the very essence of Christianity" cannot be controverted. The statement was made by the Bishop of Truro at the Church Congress, 1909, where precisely the relation of the Church to Socialism was discussed. Derived from the Greeks, individualism has underlain the Christian attitude all through. The Christian is a Christian, indeed, only to save his soul. Socialism and Christianity cannot, in fact, mix without sacrificing the essence of both.

WHOM DOES RELIGION AID?

The quotation which "Philotheus" endeavours to garble has reference to the present only. It refers to the growing indifference of the toilers to theology, and runs:

"This indifference of the workers is fostered by the fact that religion, when put to the test, is ever found on the side of their oppressors."

Every word of this is perfectly true. It is, moreover, true of the entire history of established religion. At no period has it been possible to say that the oppressors did not have religion on their side. When Christianity became stronger than the pagan religions to which it was opposed it took the place of the latter in the service of tyranny, and has remained there ever since. In each of the cases mentioned by "Philotheus," the appeal to the "public library test" will reveal the fact that the most powerful section of Christianity was in the service of the oppressors! "Did Luther betray the masses of Germany?" our opponent asks. He did! Oppressed by their misery and serfdom, and tainted with Luther's doctrines, the peasants rose in revolt in 1524. Luther's invectives against the abuses of Catholicism paled into insignificance compared with his vituperations against the poor peasants driven to desperation by misery and treachery. The encyclopedia pathetically states that against these peasants was directed "some of the most violent language Luther ever uttered!"

THE TEACHING OF NATURAL HISTORY.

On this point again "Philotheus" has found a mare's nest. A school-boy could have told him that his so-called second principle is only a part of the first. The principle of association or mutual aid has been throughout the world a method of participating in the struggle for the food supply which has favoured certain species to the disadvantage of others. Just as, to-day, the association and "sacrifice" of workers in trade unions are part and parcel of the modern struggle for bread, so in the past has mutual aid been a factor in the great struggle for the food supply which, as stated in the pamphlet, is the fundamental principle of organic evolution. "Philotheus" should use the "public library" in order to polish up his rusty natural history.

THEISM VERSUS MATERIALISM.

There is no section with this title in the pamphlet, since we are concerned, not with materialism, but with Socialism. The materialistic monism dealt with in the book has never been

shown to be illogical, nor has it been "abandoned by almost every thinker," or, indeed, by any scientist of to-day. "Fibillettes" statement is utterly false. Materialistic nomism, or philosophic materialism, is the working creed of to-day, despite the fact that a few give it fancy names and are inconsistent outside of their own special studies. The concept of God as explanation of the Universe and its phenomena is totally excluded by science, which deals only with facts. Christian explanations of life have been abandoned by practically every scientist of note. In the realm of biology Schäfer's address to the British Association made this plain, while the protest aroused last year by the vague aspirations of poor Sir Oliver Lodge shows clearly the general trend. Sir Ray Lankester in particular protested strongly in the name of science, through the columns of the "Daily Telegraph," against the debasement of science by Lodge.

All this has had its effect upon Christians, compelling them to abandon their antagonism to science and make frantic endeavours to square the circle and reconcile the irreconcilable. The result is that Christianity becomes all things to all men. It slowly crumbles away, while science firmly advances; and those dependent for their livelihood upon the propaganda of religion are compelled to adopt a paltry, time-serving expediency in a vain attempt to stay the exodus from the churches. To such a state, indeed, has the decay of religion advanced, that the churches are afraid to take another census of the congregations, and the places of worship are practically empty where the superior attractions of the cinematograph or the concert programme have not supplemented the worship of God.

Ed. Com.

ECONOMICS FOR SELF EDUCATORS.

ADVERTISEMENT runs to absurd lengths in the marketing of patent medicines to cure physical infirmities, and in the sale of popular educators to cure poverty. The "New Harnsworth Self Educator" heralds its publication with the ridiculous statement that: "The man with this book in his head has whatever he likes in his pocket,"—as though the possessor of any form of labour-power were in a position to name his own price.

The book itself contains a smattering of general knowledge, together with an amount of detailed information of a number of occupations where vacancies are rare and already there is much competition for them. When the cost of the necessary education is reduced to sevenpence a fortnight it will not be lessened, though doubtless salaries will.

The so-called business men who—no doubt with a shareholder's interest—recommend the mental swallowing of the book, like to pose as self-made men who have risen to affluence by the exercise of exceptional ability. But the world knows that their success has been due to the possession of capital, and their consequent power to exploit members of the working-class.

One section in this marvellous self educator is devoted to economics—possibly to give would-be labour-leaders an elementary acquaintance with some of the most popular economic twists and fallacies.

The best exponent of capitalist economics that the Conservative Harnsworth can find, is the Liberal politician and figure expert, Mr. Chiozza Money. A Liberal exponent in the columns of a Conservative journal should represent the economic ideals held by both political parties, i.e., the capitalist class.

Our Liberal-Tory exponent defines his subject as: "The science which concerns itself with the wealth of nations." No doubt the wealth of nations is anybody's concern but that of the cosmopolitan crowd that make up the capitalist class. For there is not one of them that cares a rap whether his nation is first or last so long as his dividends are not reduced.

Mr. Money dilates upon the width and breadth of his subject. He says: "The field of its enquiry is as wide as the lives of men in all their activities," and then takes his stand inside one system, ignoring every system that has preceded it, and every principle that has been generally

accepted, though not established. He says that the economists who have given men sane views of the trade exchanges between nations have done good work, while those who have failed are those who have sought to restrain governments from regulating the conditions of wealth production. Those who have assisted the representatives of the governing class to adapt themselves to the ever changing economic conditions have done well, from the Money's point of view. It is easy to see that his wishes are the parents of his ideas.

Then Mr. Money goes on to point the difference between studying economics and astronomy, and says: "Particularly let us observe how and why it is the uncertainties of economics are of a different order from those of astronomy." Rapidly we scan the next few lines for an approximation of the following truth—that those who possess wealth to-day would make things extremely unpleasant for any responsible (to them) economist or politician who exposed the true nature of their system, or called in question the basic principles of that system. Astronomical laws, when discovered, are accepted to-day because they do not conflict with the vital principles of capitalism. In the days of Galileo they were hotly disputed because they seemed to undermine the power of society's wealthiest institution—the Catholic Church, with its fear-inspiring Inquisition.

Our friend escapes the temptation to impart this obvious truth, but permits an equally obvious untruth to escape from him: "economics is a study of human development, while astronomy is a study of unalterable fact." It is easy to see that even here he is imprisoned within the narrow walls of his own petty system. According to him astronomy is the handmaiden of commerce; it guides the mariner, and enables the capitalist to poison and corrupt the pure atmosphere of uncivilised countries with his cheap, adulterated goods.

The Pole Star or the Southern Cross by night, and the sun by day, are essential and unalterable facts to the capitalist, they are the finger-poets to foreign markets. In comparison with their fleeting system they appear to be fixed; but they are not: they have a process just as society has. The greater includes the less; the life of the individual is a fraction of the social period of which he is a unit, while a social system is the product of geological conditions, and, in its turn, is included in, and forms but a spasm of, the cosmic process. It is to learn this process that the real astronomer strives, in order that he and his fellow-man may no longer be the slaves of unworthy superstitions and beliefs.

Next Messrs. Harnsworth's Money sets out to define wealth. He dare not confine himself to the normal conditions of capitalist production, but, like all the university crowd, croaks about the accidents and the freaks. "The trashy print that satisfies a want, albeit a depraved want . . . fresh air and sunshine that have no value in exchange" and such-like nonsense, in order to shirk the real issues. In his haste, however, he blunders hopelessly; with careless audacity he asserts that fresh air and sunshine are unlimited in supply. Fresh air is a thing almost unknown to nearly two-thirds of the working-class; while as for sunshine, it is so scarce that sea-side towns keep records of the number of hours of sunshine they experience, and advertise them to induce visitors to patronise them.

Wealth Mr. Money describes as all desirable things which have value in exchange, because they are (1) limited in supply, (2) transferable. Last year a wealthy New Yorker had a portion of someone else's nose grafted on to his own, for which he paid a good round sum. Under Mr. Money's definition all noses are economic wealth, because they are limited in supply and transferable.

From wealth we pass to value, but we must remember that terms are interchangeable with the bourgeois economist, and value, wealth, price, and exchange value may mean the same unless otherwise stated. We are told that "the term 'value' is purely relative . . . it is the relation of one thing to another that we speak of when we use the word." As to why there should be any relation at all, or what is responsible for the presence of value in commodities, Mr. Money is silent. Instead we find him again floundering among the freaks of his

own system, pretending bewilderment at trivial inconsistencies, and serving up worn out platitudes. "A man building a house on one site may have to excavate soil and be glad to pay people to take it away, while on another site a man may be glad to pay to obtain soil." Apparently a riddle that cannot be solved by the best capitalist quacks. Or again, "A man may spend years of arduous labour on the production of a commodity and yet find it without value on the market; while another man may hit upon a clever idea which costs him very little labour and he commands a ready market." How strange that competition and anarchy should produce such results!

"Cameo brochures, too, found a ready market a generation ago; for some reason they went out of fashion and it became almost impossible to sell them." We begin to wonder why such trivialities find place in a serious treatise on economics by such an exponent. Then we read: "The keen business man endeavours to forecast such changes and even to create them." What profound and enduring wisdom! Truly, "the man with this book in his head has whatever he likes in his pocket."

Mr. Money sees, what, indeed, everyone sees, that value exists in different quantities in all commodities. The value embodied in a box of matches is less than the value crystallised in a suit of clothes or a bicycle. It is surely something more than a coincidence that the relative value in each commodity should correspond so closely with the relative quantity of labour-power worked up in each. This fact is so widely recognised that most of the time-servers pretend to deal with it. Mr. Money dodges it like this:

"The price an article will fetch on the market is not determined either by cost of production or by the amount of labour which went to the making of the article. We may put it that the cost of production is essentially an important factor in supply, but that it does not of itself determine value. In practice, however, cost of production is usually a deciding factor, since no producer will continue working unless he can make a profit."

In other words, no it doesn't; yes it does.

Once again our friend commences a paragraph in a manner which raises anticipations. He refers to the "common fallacy that if wages are raised prices are raised correspondingly." He then sets out to explain the fallacy by "a very simple arithmetical consideration." "Suppose that wages were raised 10 per cent. all round, and that no extra efficiency were produced either in employers or wage-earners. Even so prices would not rise by 10 per cent., as wages are only one item in the cost of production." Our capitalist's man is thinking of raw material, fuel, machinery, etc., but this hypothetical rise refers to the whole of the working-class, and the producers of these other items have received their 10 per cent. increase which has been added to the price of these things. Ultimately, and regarding production as a concrete whole, all economic wealth is produced by the application of human labour-power to the nature-given material. Consequently it is only the "single capitalist concern" that has "other items." In the real economic sense they do not exist. Mr. Money has tried to explode one fallacy with another, his simple arithmetical consideration is a mental aberration. While it is quite true that if the workers' wages were raised 10 per cent. and the rise added to prices, prices would not rise 10 per cent., it is not for the reason Mr. Money states, but because 10 per cent. on what the labourer consumes would be only $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. on what he produces, if he produces four times as much as he consumes. It would not, of course, suit a capitalist economist at all to put it in this brutal way.

In his next passage Mr. Money reaches the heart of his subject. "The requisites of wealth production are land, labour, and capital." But capital itself is wealth and has been produced by labour-power applied to land; the word capital in the definition would therefore appear to be redundant. But let the oracle explain what he means by capital.

"In the beginning primitive men, superior to the animal world from which they had risen by virtue of godlike intellectual powers, wrested the means of living from unwilling nature. In the very truest sense they applied labour to

land. . . . To fashion a club or a spear is to set oneself not to the immediate getting of food, but to the storage of intelligent labour in a material form with the object of obtaining a means to hunt or fish with greater efficiency in the future."

So now we have it on Liberal-Tory authority, in a serious and carefully thought out article, designed for educational purposes. The first capitalist concern was the club or spear of primitive man; and the naked savage was evidently capitalist, wage-slave, and general public in one holy trinity—he must have been nearly as conceited as the geologist that dug up an ancient club with capital on it.

It is waste of valuable space to give serious consideration to such obvious twaddle. The whole section is a stringing together of non-essentials with fallacies and partisan shibboleths; a mere travesty of economics. It is not worthy the name; it is Shavian and shallow. Every definition as it follows the previous one, exhibits the sordid nature that panders to established power, and fences with the truth, with the deliberate purpose of bewildering and confusing those who try to learn. F. F.

A NEW CURE FOR AN OLD DISEASE.

"THE GREAT SCOURGE AND HOW TO END IT," by Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. London: E. Pankhurst, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

The average person in the street, if sounded upon the agitation conducted by the "Peths" and the "Panks," would be found to entertain the idea that the end and object of it all is the obtaining of Parliamentary suffrage for women. To be told that the vote for women is anything but an end in itself; that the agitation for the vote is but a part of a wide feminist movement, would cause these inestimable persons considerable surprise. For this propaganda is no doubt to be blamed. At any rate, Miss Christabel Pankhurst's book, "The Great Scourge and How to End it," will do little to dispel the idea, for from cover to cover it bears the obvious impress of having been produced, not with the object of contributing to the suppression of the "Great Scourge," but for the purpose of providing another peg whereon to hang the lying legend: "Votes for Women."

For the purposes of this review Miss Pankhurst's book may be divided into two portions—her facts, and her "arguments." Regarding the former, our author tells us that "men's favourite method of arguing against women is to deny their statements of fact." Thus is the present scribe disarmed on the very point of denying the "statement of fact" set forth in the words (p. 77): "as the Bible tells us, the sins of the fathers are visited in the form of syphilitic maladies upon their children and their children's children." If it were not that it would be "so like a man," I would have suggested that when the Lord promised to "visit the sins of the fathers upon the children," he did not, according to the Bible, indicate syphilis as the means.

However, I am not going to deny Miss Pankhurst's statements of fact. On the contrary, I cheerfully admit that they are gruesome enough to be worth the price of the book. But then the "arguments" fully justify one in demanding one's shilling back.

The "Great Scourge," of course, is sexual disease, concerning the widespread prevalence of which Miss Pankhurst adduces much authoritative evidence. But when she says in the introduction, "in the following pages will be found a proposed cure for the great evil in question," one knows from experience what to expect. In the Suffragist eye the cure for every ill is "Votes for Women" (occasionally in conjunction with something else just about as pertinent).

"The cause of sexual disease," says Miss Pankhurst (p. 13), "is the subjection of women," and (p. 21) "the only cure is Votes for Women." In between these two statements she manages, very incautiously, to squeeze another, which makes it a very easy matter to tumble the whole sophistic fabric of her argument about her ears. The statement is (p. 19) referring to the sufferings of women due to sexual disease, "so long as the subjection of women endures

and is confirmed by law and custom, so long will the race be injured and degraded." To show, then, that the enfranchisement of women of itself will make no difference to their position of subjection (to use Miss Pankhurst's term without admitting any special subjection of women), is to dispose of the author's argument that "Votes for Women" is a cure for the evils she embraces within the title of the "Great Scourge."

Let us take, first of all, Miss Pankhurst's statement on page VIII (Introduction): "Votes for Women will strike at the Great Scourge in many ways. When they are citizens women will have the power to secure the enactment of laws for their protection, and to strengthen their economic position." The arguments on pages 116-117 give to the latter portion of this statement the meaning that the vote is necessary to enable women to work for wages, and will have the effect of enabling them to do so. The claim on page 22 that "the weapon of the vote will enable them [women] to break down existing barriers to honest livelihood" confirms this view. Other passages in the book also show that it is contended that the enfranchisement of women is going to give them such a measure of economic freedom as will obviate the need for any of them to resort to prostitution. Out of a bewildering jumble this appears to be the way of the cure of the "Great Scourge."

Now this is sheer nonsense. Nobody but the Suffragist requires to be told that, as far as it can materially affect the question of prostitution, wage-slavery is open to women to-day. In one or two directions, aspirants to which are hardly the women whom economic pressure forces into selling themselves upon the streets (the law and professional politics may be instanced) women are debarred by law. All other careers, such as they are, are legally open to women, hence, whatever the reason they fail to establish themselves in certain avocations filled exclusively by men, it is not due to any legal barrier, and for that reason is not to be affected by votes for women.

Of course, it may be argued that the enfranchisement of women will enable them to secure such reforms in the customary matrimonial arrangements as will set married women free for the labour market. Indeed, this line of argument is foreshadowed on page 115, where our author tells us that "a great bulwark of sex subjection" (which we have already been told is the cause of prostitution), is that "a married woman must derive her livelihood from her husband—must eat out of his hand, as it were."

Unfortunately for the success of this argument, it cannot be denied that prostitution by no means depends for its votaries upon married women. On the contrary, the ranks of the "unfortunate class" are composed for the most part of women who have never had the opportunity of eating out of a husband's hand. They have needed no women's franchise to make them "economically independent" (in Miss Pankhurst's sense of the term). The labour market has been as freely open to them as to men. They have had the same prerogative that male wage-workers have—the prerogative of selling their labour power when there is a demand for it.

Women, both married and unmarried, have not had to wait for votes for women in order to achieve this "economic freedom." It has been thrust upon them by the development of the capitalist system of production. It is therefore absurd to claim that Votes for Women are going to abolish prostitution by "breaking down the barrier to honest livelihood." That barrier, as far almost as it can be broken down under the conditions resolutely clung to by the eminently capitalistic W.S.P.U., is so broken down. The law stands in the way in the case of but one or two professions which, if they loom large with importance in the eyes of certain ambitious, axe-grinding "blue-stockings," can hardly affect the general conditions which drive women into the horrors of prostitution.

As a matter of fact, nothing has contributed more largely to the increase of prostitution than the widespread entry of women into industry. Household services, at all events, yielded a fairly secure subsistence, and the woman who did "eat from her husband's hand," had not, so long as she could do so, to take the desperate step of an unemployed and despairing bread-winner. But

when the development of machinery dragged girls and women into the factory (which in Miss Pankhurst's view was giving them economic independence), it placed not only their labour-power, but also their sexual attributes, at the service and disposal of the master class.

It has been admitted by "captains of industry" that prostitution is a pillar of their system. It has been admitted that the low wages they pay their female workers are rendered possible only by the latter laying their virtue on the altar of their employers' balance sheet—by them selling their bodies in order that they may get strength to do their employers' work. This is what the so-called economic independence of women has done for the race. That it is humiliating for a married woman to "eat out of her husband's hand" may be granted. No doubt it comes especially hard to those "spiritually developed" women Miss Pankhurst is so fond of babbling about, who think they need but opportunity to shine in the legislature, the bar, or the pulpit. But speaking of the bulk of women, is it less humiliating to bring even their sex attributes into competition with the labour-power of their fathers, brothers, and husbands?

The claim that to "break down the barriers to honest livelihood," (meaning to throw open to women every avenue of gaining a living) gives women "economic independence," is rubbish. The proof of this lies in the fact that the barriers are imaginary. The world of industry is open to women, and they find it so little to their liking that they are glad to seek refuge from it in marriage. Just as men who must sell their labour-power must necessarily be in a position of dependence, so also must the women of the same class be economically dependent so long as class distinctions exist. Votes for Women cannot alter this fact, any more than votes for men have altered it in their case. Talk to the miner, driven into the death-trap pit for four or five shillings a day, about his economic independence, or to the locked-out carman or the striking teacher, or the unemployed worker in any trade, and see what the reply will be.

Miss Pankhurst shows her bias when she says (p. 44): "where women are economically dependent upon men, they more readily become the victims of vice." This is utterly false. The truth is that it is where women become more directly dependent upon capitalist exploitation that they more readily become the victims of vice. This exploitation is carried on by the capitalist class—by women as well as men. The hollowness and hypocrisy of all this frothy bluster about curing the "Great Scourge" are clearly shown by this incontestable fact. For the W.S.P.U. is essentially a rich women's organisation. We know, therefore, that it has no intention of finding a cure for prostitution, since the only cure lies through the overthrow of the class these rich women belong to and the establishment of Socialism.

All the wild words of the Suffragists about the "Great Scourge" being a "women's question" strike mocking echoes from this solid fact. To judge from the vapourings of the Suffragists one would imagine that all social ills are the outcome of male control of society, and that all that is needed to abolish every social evil—at least as far as they affect women and children—is that women shall have the vote. According to these mentally lop-sided cranks all the goodwill, all the tenderness, all the humanity, are resident in the female breast. If one did not know that women of the capitalist class spurned with their dainty shoes the living entrails of the disembowelled heroines of the working class, as they lay on the pavements of the Paris boulevards in the red days after the Commune!

Just as the men of the master class would run all the risks inseparable from prostitution, even were they multiplied ten-fold, rather than abolish them in the only way in which they can be abolished—that is, at the cost of their social domination—so also would the women of the capitalist class—who are the financial bulwarks of the W.S.P.U.

To sum up, it is a lie to say that the "Great Scourge" is a woman's question: it is a class question; it is a lie to say that sexual disease is due to the subjection of women; it is due to the subjection of the working class; it is a lie to say that women's franchise can cure the "Great Scourge"; only the emancipation of the working class can do that.

A. E. J.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1st.	8th.	15th.	22th.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 R. Reynolds	A. Barker	C. Baggett	J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker
Clapham Common	7.30 H. Cooper	A. Bays	H. Joy	A. Sadd	A. Wallis
Edmonton Green	7.30 C. Baggett	A. L. Cox	H. Joy	A. Sadd	A. Wallis
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. W. Pearson	G. Seech	A. Anderson	A. Bays	A. W. Pearson
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30 G. Seech	A. Anderson	J. G. Stone	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 F. W. Stearn	R. Bruce	L. Lytton	J. Ward	H. King
Ilford (station)	7.30 F. Vickers	A. Hoskyns	C. Elliott	A. Anderson	A. Sadd
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 J. G. Stone	L. Lytton	J. Butler	A. W. Pearson	R. Bruce
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 R. Bruce	E. Lake	A. Barker	T. W. Lobb	C. Elliott
Peckham, 41 Albert Rd.	11.30 J. Ward	R. Reynolds	H. King	L. Lytton	W. Lewington
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 J. Wray	G. Seech	C. Parker	A. Cox	A. Bays
Tooting Broadway	8.0 J. Fitzgerald	A. Sadd	R. H. Kent	H. King	J. Le Carte
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Wallis	E. Fairbrother	H. Cooper	A. Barker	R. Reynolds
Walham Green Church	7.30 E. Lake	A. Barker	A. Cox	F. Stearn	C. Baggett
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 A. Hoskyns	A. Wallis	G. Seech	C. Baggett	J. G. Stone
	7.30 A. Bays	J. Fitzgerald	A. Wallis	J. Wray	H. Joy
	7.30 C. Elliot	H. Cooper	R. Bruce	E. Fairbrother	F. Vickers
	11.30 B. Young	W. Lewington	A. W. Pearson	R. Reynolds	T. W. Lobb
	7.30 A. Sadd	H. Joy	A. Bays	A. Wallis	F. W. Stearn

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowssett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.**SATURDAYS.**—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

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193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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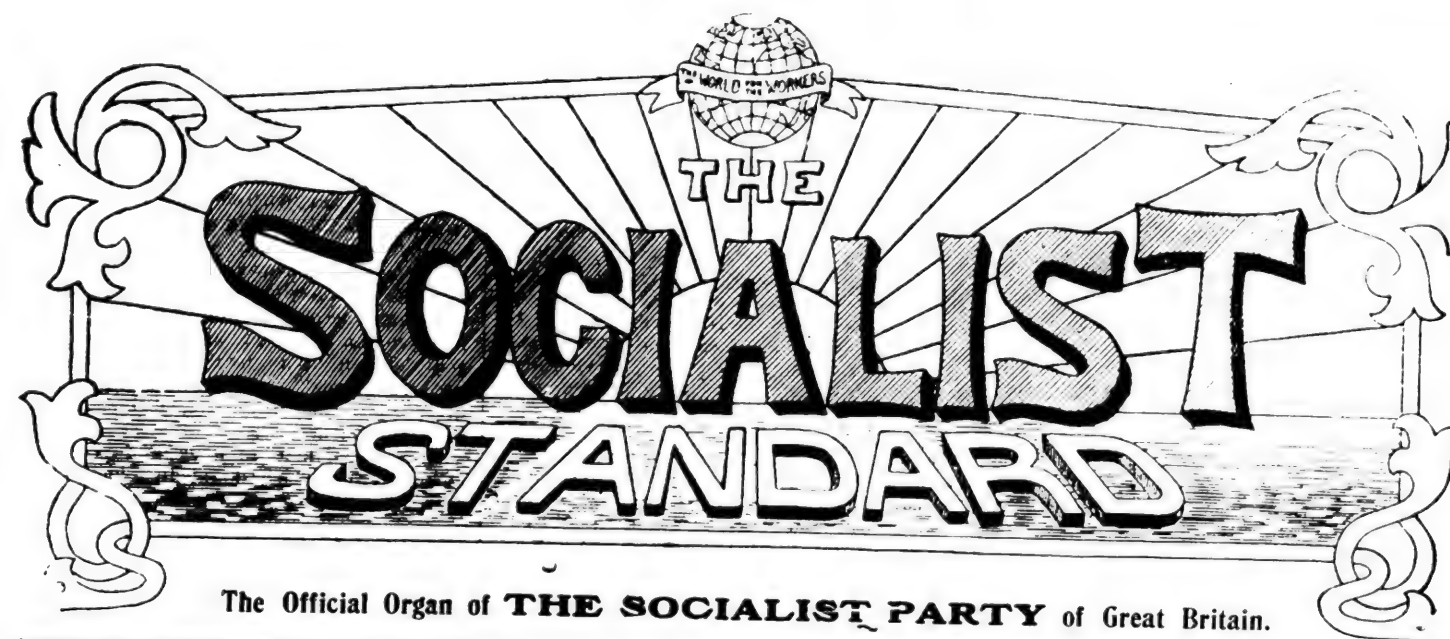
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LONDON, APRIL, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE SLAVERY OF TO-DAY.

GLARING FACTS SO OFTEN UNOBSERVED.

THERE is, apparently, no greater insult one can offer a man than to assert or insinuate that he is a slave. Strangely enough, also, it often happens that the more vehemently he scorns such a suggestion the stronger rises in him an uncomfortable feeling that there is an element of truth in the charge. A man will deny, almost with oaths and curses, that he is dependent upon any one other than himself, while all the time he knows that he lives and moves and has his being only by the will of some person, or persons, stronger than he is. It may, however, be taken that, generally speaking, the majority of working-class men and women are quite honest in their conviction that the application of the word "slave" to them is altogether inconceivable. "What!" a man will say, "I am a slave. Why I can change my job to-morrow. I need not stay on where I am but can clear out whenever I choose." True enough, a man can change his particular job, but only for another under the same conditions. True, he may leave his place of employment when he chooses, but unless he is then able to find someone else willing to employ him, the chances are that he will find his sense of freedom considerably curtailed by starvation, or possibly by a police court prosecution for vagrancy. Those members of the working class who repudiate so indignantly the very thought of their being slaves, might ask themselves how much freedom over their own lives they really possess; whether, for instance, they can choose their hours of employment, their rates of wages, the conditions under which they work; whether they can make the same enquiries into the personal character of their master as their master can make into theirs. They would do well to ask themselves whether their boasted freedom extends so far as to enable them to exist without using their mental and physical ability in order to make profit for their employer. As a matter of fact, the habit of slavery, the ethical standard of slavery, has become so ingrained in most people that they are quite incapable of realising how subservient they really are. They meekly accept their conditions of existence as being quite in the natural order of things and resent, often quite fiercely, the very idea that their existence is not all that it might be. They hug their chains, fondle the hand that smites them, fawn about the feet that spurn them. The only freedom they desire is the freedom to continue in slavery. The self-abasement of some men and women is appalling in its worm-like grovelling. In the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Westminster is a statue of St. Peter, the "rock" on which the Christian Church is founded. The big toe of this statue has been worn smooth and shiny by the continual kisses impressed upon it by Roman Catholic adherents. Think of the degraded mentality of the men and women (most of them working-class men and

women) who are content, are eager, to give such slavish adoration to the memory of a man, who—if he ever lived—is known chiefly as a liar and traitor, fit figurehead, indeed, of an institution that, ever since its inception, has done its very best to degrade and cheat and betray its misguided followers.

This slavish attitude of mind is to be found in relation to every phase of society. "Be humble, be meek, be docile," is the motto given to the workers from press and pulpit and platform. It is, of course, all to the advantage of the capitalists to keep obscure the fact that the working class live in a condition comparable only to that of the negroes as described in such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the difference being that the whip of Legree, instead of being of plaited cords, is now the threat of starvation. The position after all is very simple. While the members of the employing class hold in their hands the means of wealth production, that is, while they control the means whereby the necessities of existence are produced, then it follows inevitably that they possess the power to give or withhold, just as it may so suit them, the actual necessities of existence. This really means that all outside the employing class only exist by sufferance. "This man is useful to us," say the employers. "We will therefore give him sufficient to live on, so that he may continue to be useful to us." Or they will say: "This man is no good for our purpose. He is too weak, or too stupid, or too independent. We can make nothing out of him. Therefore he can live if he is able, die if he must. In any case it doesn't matter a damn to us which he does as long as we are not bothered with him." And so the men and women of the working class live or die just as it suits the capitalists. They are not slaves—no, perish the thought! Why, they have a vote—some of them. They have freedom of choice to cast that vote in favour of Mr. A., Conservative, or Mr. B., Liberal! Rule Britannia, Britons never shall be slaves!

Strange, is it not, and pitiful, that men and women who are intelligent enough in their employers' business should, when it comes to a question of their own particular concerns, become so hopelessly befogged and befuddled as to preclude any possibility of correct reasoning or logical sequence. Though such a state of affairs is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. The malnutrition of their bodies and minds, their early training in capitalist ethics, the nonsensical superstition designated as religion which is forced down their throats when they are children, all have gone to make the workers, not only dependent upon the capitalists for their scanty means of life, but dependent on them as well for their way of thinking. The majority of the working class think in terms of Capitalism, instead of from the point of view of working-

class interests. It is often alleged that Socialists are endeavouring to bring about a revolution. At any rate they are trying to revolutionise the ideas of their fellow workers, to make them realise their present ridiculous and degrading position. That is the first object of the Socialist written and spoken propaganda. The slave must first understand that he is a slave and why he is a slave before he can make any attempt to break his fetters. Economic freedom can only be won through intellectual freedom, and intellectual freedom is altogether incompatible with the slave-morality with which most of us have been permeated. To bring his fellow-workers to a perception of things from the standpoint of the Socialist philosophy must be the great aim of the Socialist.

"Keep on—Liberty is to the subdued whatever occurs;
That is nothing that is quelled by one or two failures, or any number of failures;
Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or by unfaithfulness,
Or the show of the tushes of power, soldiers, cannon, penal statutes."

F. J. WEBB.

JOTTINGS.

At a meeting of representatives of employers' associations held recently to determine, among other things, whether combination for disorganising trading and social conditions should not be made unlawful, Mr. Wm. M. Murphy contributed the following significant statement: "Employers can beat Syndicalism anywhere and beat it hollow. The answer to a general strike is a general lock out, and that is the only way."

Which ought to be enlightening to those of the workers who are led away by the ensnaring tactics of the anti-political actionists. When the working class is sufficiently conscious of its class interests to organise politically in order to capture the forces of oppression and repression, then will the capitalist class experience a "general lock out"; and "that is the only way"—at present.

* * *

As was to be expected, the Commission of Inquiry into the conduct of the Dublin police resulted in a complete whitewashing from beginning to end. This was only natural, considering its composition. No representative of the workers was present, and in addition, 202 out of 281 witnesses were police officers. These two facts alone are significant.

The Labour Party were obviously disappointed with the result, evidently believing that if the Commission was a Liberal one it would be

certain to be just and impartial. They will insist on believing that the Liberal is somehow different from the Tory, despite the frequency with which they are "dished."

When Mr. Geo. Barnes moved an amendment regretting that no mention was made in the Address to the conditions in Dublin, the Liberals promptly turned it down—by 233 to 15. When the figures were announced a Labour member had the temerity to shout: "Who has run away now?" This can only mean that the Liberals had deserted their pals, the Labour Party. Clearly enough, they are under the impression that the Liberals ought to stick to them at any cost! The fact is, as the most superficial observer can see, the Liberals are determined to fool them at every turn, whilst at the same time making good use of them when it suits their purpose to do so. The reason the Labour Party cannot always see it, is because of a peculiar, though not uncommon, disease with which they are afflicted, and which, in their case, is considered by some to be incurable. This disease has been diagnosed as "political myopia."

Father Bernard Vaughan has been through the United States on a tour. As is usual with people who pay flying visits to other countries, he has come back equipped with a complete knowledge of the conditions obtaining there, ranging from the hobble skirt to the delightful methods of the industrial system. He told his audience, when lecturing on his experiences at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, recently, that he knew of no country in the world where a man could be more sure of a living wage for an honest day's work than the States. "I found in the States that the employers generally got into closer touch with their employees than anywhere else. They seem to 'pal' with their servants instead of patronising them. The employers consider their servants, they study them, they try to give them a co-partnership, a personal interest in their work. I was much impressed by the relations between capital and labour. They are drawn closely together and those impersonal terms of industry have been exchanged for real personal relations."

Now, that's refreshing! Ever since I heard this I have been disgusted with my little lot. Oh! why wasn't I born in America! I've had lots of bosses, but never one that I could "pal" with. Comrades in America, I envy you! I've read a lot about America, too, but never saw it in this light before. So far as my investigations into American industrial conditions go, the only "personal relations" in which the close "touch" is manifested I have been able to discover, are those in which the policeman's is used as the medium. It would be interesting to know what our fellow-workers in the U.S.A. think of Vaughan's analysis!

The impression that all is not well with the Insurance Act is gaining ground. The Unionists in Parliament have tried hard to pin Mr. Lloyd George down to some statement regarding the financial position, but up to now the Chancellor hasn't obliged. Not that the Unionists are solicitous about the way the workers are being diddled. They are simply looking for something upon which to base a party cry at the expected early General Election. The Liberal and Radical Press is filled with a mass of figures which try to prove what a glorious benefaction the Act is to the workers. But to the majority of workers the figures are about as intelligible as the hieroglyphics on Cleopatra's Needle. The following table is about the clearest, and is taken from the "Daily News" (24.2.14):

Receipts for the United Kingdom.
dom up to Dec. 31st, 1913 £33,424,000.

Issues and Investments.	
Approved societies for:	£
Benefits	7,605,000.
Administration	3,675,000.
Insurance Committees for:	
Medical benefit	4,502,000.
Sanatorium benefit	801,000.
Administration	252,000.
Deposit contributors in sickness and maternity benefits	18,100.
Investments:	
Societies for investments or in-	

vested on their behalf	937,000.
Invested by Insurance Commissioners through the National Debt Commissioners	15,263,000.

Whether or not there is any truth in the rumour that a large number of approved societies will not be able to pay the minimum benefits and are rapidly drifting into insolvency, one significant fact remains—half of the total receipts has gone into the National Debt!

Whether it is a success from the doctor's point of view may be gauged from the following scale of payments made to panel practitioners at Bolton—to take a typical case:

5 doctors were paid	£800 to £1,000 each.
5 " " "	£600 " £800 "
14 " " "	£400 " £600 "
20 " " "	£200 " £400 "
("Daily News," 27.2.14.)	

Which averages £477 10s. per year each or, roughly, about £9 10s. per week!

During the debate on rating reform in the House of Commons on Feb. 19th, Mr. Chiozza Money (statistical "expert") argued that old age pensions had not only relieved but had equalised local rates, and the Insurance Act would also tend gradually to ease local burdens, which I can quite believe. An Act which was supposedly passed to benefit the workers is proving to be of immense utility to the capitalist class and its retainers.

The relief mentioned by Mr. Money, it is hardly necessary to point out, does not refer to the burdens of the working class, but to the "burdens" of the rate and tax payers—the class which gets something for nothing.

Impressed by the quality of the work done in their Chicago factory, where the hours are shorter than in England, the firm of Cooper & Nephews, Chemical Manufacturers, Berkhamstead, have decided that for a trial period of three months work would commence at eight in the morning instead of six. Wages remain unaltered. After six weeks' working the general verdict is that waste has been eliminated, the standard of efficiency has been raised and that the firm will have no cause to repent of the change. Will Thorne, please note.

There was to have been a huge general strike during March, involving about 750,000 men, chiefly engineers, etc. So predicted Mr. Tom Mann at Dublin recently.

Unfortunately, (or fortunately), Mr. Mann has gone to South Africa as the "Ambassador of the Rank and File of Great Britain and Ireland" (rids "Daily Herald"), so the strike won't come off.

At the time of writing a strike is proceeding on the Tramway system at Barcelona. Despite the fact that the employees have struck work almost to a man, it has made no difference to the service. Why? Simply because the officials had only to call on the military to find themselves well supplied with every means of maintaining it. Indeed, a distinctive feature of all modern strikes (especially transport) appears to be the equanimity with which the capitalists regard the withdrawal of labour.

TOM SALL.

BOUND VOLUMES OF "THE SOCIALIST STANDARD."

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BOY SPROUTS.

An article graced the columns of this periodical some while back, wherein comment was made on the efforts then being put forth to acquaint the youth of this country with the beauties of a language not their own. The particular occasion was that on which our revered and beloved Sovereign permitted himself the felicity of reviewing an approved sample of the aforesaid youth drawn up in battle array, armed with "scout's knives" and penny broomsticks, and dressed in football knickers, cowboy hats, and costermonger neckties.

As a special mark of grace, and as a fitting climax to what was undoubtedly a historic occasion, at a given signal the kingly ears of our Sovereign were assailed with yells of "Yah boo! yah boo! Een gonyama yonyama! Yah boo!"

What the King thought of "yah boo!" research has never revealed, but the present scribe remembers that the cry used to have a most infuriating effect upon the suburban policeman. How strange are the revolutions enacted by the simple passing of the years! To think that the small boys' derision of one decade should become the acclamation of kings in the next!

One might almost be pardoned for thinking that the Boy Scouts organisation had laid down as its life work the task of converting the cat-calls of boyhood into the language of loyalty. Suggestions under this head are not invited. My equanimity wobbles at the idea of our august ruler being saluted with cries of: "Baa, baa! soapuds!" A thousand times no! It cannot be for this that the youth of the country expose their degenerate knees to the gaze of the vulgar herd. Not for this, surely, does Sir Robert Balfour Towel find relaxation, after the stern business of defending Mafeking, in teaching the young idea to jibber. No! There must be something else behind the apparently unmeaning ritual.

And there is. My encyclopædia informs me that "the [Boy Scout] movement is largely to inculcate a spirit of patriotism into boys of all classes, and to train up young men to form an intelligent subsidiary force to the army if necessary."

So there you have it. Now there is no need to go into hysterics over the obvious—this is not the "Clarion." Granted that the ruling class is a capitalist class; granted that its dominance depends upon a mixture of chicanery and force, then is it not justified in recruiting and supplementing its forces from every available source? It is what one should expect. A carnivorous animal dies when its teeth give out.

You will notice the quotation above given says the movement is largely for the purposes named. We are spared the necessity of speculation on what one might call the minority report by a letter which appeared in the delectable "Daily Mail" on March 2nd as follows:

"BOY LABOUR AND BOY SCOUTS."

"General Baden-Powell has just received the following:

"186, Strand, Feb. 26, 1914.

"Dear Sir,—Being one of the largest employers of boy labour in the country, we regard with special interest your recent appeal on behalf of the Boy Scout movement. We are of opinion that a training in Scout ideas and methods is so beneficial to all boys that it cannot fail to be in every way an advantage to all the junior members of our staff.

"With a view to extending the movement among our 5,000 or 6,000 boys we have specially deputed a member of our staff to do all in his power for its encouragement.

"We therefore sympathise very cordially with your attempt to widen the area of the Boy Scout movement, and have much pleasure in enclosing a cheque for £500 in support of it.

"We believe that it will be well worth the while of business firms who value efficiency in their staffs to respond liberally to your appeal, and so help to increase the number of boys whose creed is efficiency, duty, and self-sacrifice.

W. H. SMITH AND SON."

So you will see that, apart from being very good value for money in the way of a recruiting

sergeant, the boy Scout movement is valuable in another direction. One of the largest exploiters of glabrous youth is willing to back its appreciation of the good work of the movement to the extent of £500. They are quite open and honest about it, and honesty in these days is "rare and refreshing fruit."

Messrs. W. H. Smith and Son are one of the largest distributors of muck in existence. That it is muck is, of course, not their fault. Theirs is but to sell it. Literature they have their "doots" about, as witness their embargo on the "English Review" some time back. Muck is their forte as distributing agents, and some nice, efficient, self-sacrificing little boys are needed to assist in their beneficent labours. They offer £500 to help in the production of these little gems.

When exploiters of boy labour find it "well worth their while" to invest £500 in the Boy Scout movement you may be sure they are going to get something pretty tangible out of it. Just think of it. "Efficiency" in selling Daily Hogwash. "Duty"—72 hours per week of it. "Self-sacrifice"—on 5s. per week.

And when he is off duty the movement is "inculcating a spirit of patriotism" and training him up to form "an intelligent subsidiary force to the army."

Completely beautiful and beautifully complete! To think one can get all that for £500! We are a great nation: a very great nation. Long may we wave!

W. T. H.

THE FRAUD OF NATIONAL INSURANCE

At the moment of writing there are several bye elections pending, and whilst both Liberal and Tory candidates are pushing their respective wares and screaming about the interest which they take in the welfare of our class, hundreds of our fellow workers are being maimed and murdered in mill, mine and factory in order to produce profits for an idle, parasitic class.

In that organ devoted to Radicalism and ragtime, "Reynolds's Newspaper," we are informed that "lives are cheap to day," and a whole column is taken up in describing the results of this hellish system. Might it be suggested to that journal that the text: "If the tree bringeth forth not good fruit, cut it down; why umbreth it the ground?" is in the circumstances really worth considering?

A week or two since (1.2.14.) in the same paper we were told that some remarkable figures as to the close relationship between tuberculosis and bad housing and poverty are given by the Medical Officer of Health for Birmingham:

"The weekly average of tuberculosis cases out of every 1,000 houses rented at less than 5s. a week was 7.4 cases. As the rent increases the proportion of cases rapidly diminishes. So long as low wages and bad housing continue no amount of sanatoria will extirpate consumption."

Here we have an organ devoted to the party in power suddenly awakening to the fact that this glorious Liberal Government, in tinkering with the results of the system, are mispending their energies. However, it is refreshing to note that occasionally they stumble across the truth.

Working men engaged in those industries covered by unemployment insurance have recently discovered the sincerity of the promise made by Lloyd George, to wit:

"To provide adequate insurance to save the man who is out of work perforce and his wife and family from starvation till he gets employment." ("Better Times," p. 246)

They now realise that because they refuse to sign the obnoxious document, the powers that be have decided that no out-of-work benefit is payable. "Deception is always a pretty contemptible vice, but to deceive the poor is the meanest of all." (Limehouse George, 30.7.09.) Others have discovered that their share of "rare and refreshing fruit" depends upon how the form sent from the Labour Exchange to their last employer is filled in.

Turning to the Health Insurance side of this

gigantic fraud, many are the bitter disappointments received by those who have been broken on the wheel of capitalism. Too numerous to mention are the cases of those who discovered that their fruit is not yet ripe. However, let us notice a tragic instance reported only a few days ago of a clerk who died of consumption. To fully appreciate this it is necessary to bear in mind the words of that "priest of humanity," Lloyd George, uttered in Whitefield's Tabernacle, Oct. 14, 1911:

"A man goes to the doctor. He is examined. The doctor discovers at once that he is attacked by tuberculosis, and he says to him: 'You must knock off work at once. You must go to a sanatorium.' The Government are . . . to build sanatoria throughout the country. They are raising a million a year out of the Insurance fund to keep up these first class hotels."

This is one side of the picture. In practice we find that, in the case of the clerk, these visions of Mr. George do not materialize. We are informed that:

"As long ago as last November Mr. Lamb sought to obtain the sanatorium benefit promised by Mr. George. All that the Insurance Committee for the County of London offered him between then and yesterday morning when he breathed his last was six quarts of milk!" ("The People," 15.2.14.)

This is the treatment meted out to the members of the working class—the producers of the world's wealth—when they are sick. They are mocked by those who batten on their misery. In the case of this clerk, although the hospital authorities stated that "the sooner he entered a sanatorium the better," all he was able to receive under a benign Liberal government was six quarts of milk!

In conclusion, I will take one more example from the Rt. Hon. Lloyd George:

"If at the end of an average term of office it were found that a Liberal Parliament had done nothing to cope seriously with the social condition of the people, to remove the national degradation of the slums and widespread poverty and destitution in a land glittering with wealth . . . then would a great cry arise in this land for a new party." ("Better Times," p. 36)

We claim most solemnly that the Liberal Party has failed—and must fail—to deal seriously with the "problems" which confront us to day. Only by attacking and overthrowing the root cause of the trouble—capitalism—can the working class hope to gain their emancipation, and then poverty, with all its attendant evils, will be banished by the establishment of a sane system of society, based on the common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

For a parasite class to talk to you, on whose labour all security is founded, of national insurance, in itself is insolence enough. Arise! and take security into your own hands.

S. W. TORD.

AN ANTI-SOCIALIST'S CHALLENGE ACCEPTED.

An attack on Socialism by Mr. George W. Daw, the Conservative Agent for Wandsworth and a local champion of capitalism, recently appeared in the "Mitcham and Tooting Mercury," in the course of which he stated that "there is one challenge I have made to Socialists which has never been accepted, and that is to conduct a debate on Socialism in the columns of a recognised Socialist journal. I have an extensive acquaintance with Socialist literature, and have noticed that whilst Socialists are so eager to debate on public platforms, where they can practice the tricks of oratory on their audiences, in which they are adepts, they are equally reluctant to open the columns of their journals to pronounced opponents."

We have written to Mr. Daw and to the above paper accepting his challenge and offering him space in this journal for three months to set out his case. We await his first contribution, which if received in time, will be published in our next issue together with our reply.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We have received, with a request of publication in these columns, a lengthy communication of which we are able to print only the following extracts.

Press Committee,
Local 2,155 U.M.W.A.,
Nanaimo, B.C.

Mr. Editor, We shall appreciate the insertion of this article in your columns, as we desire to place before the public the salient features of our struggle on Vancouver Island in the interest of Trade Unionism. Three thousand men are involved in the contest, which has been going on for periods varying from ten to sixteen months respectively. The United Mine Workers of America supporting the struggle, is a strong organisation, having a membership of 150,000, and has its head office in the United States.

The mining towns are invested by special police and soldiers of the McBride and Bowser Government; the streets are patrolled day and night, and military rule is observed to a degree that is ridiculous.

The cry against us is of being an alien organisation led by Socialist leaders. We have been told that to secure the favour of the Government and of the coal barons to a proposition of recognition we should have organised a Canadian union. Numerous attempts have been made for many years to obtain recognition of trade union organisation on this island, but all alike have met with the same opposition from these and other coal operators.

At present 90 per cent. of the men who came out on strike are remaining loyal, and are determined to remain so until victory is achieved. No picketing is allowed, and the few traitors who have gone to blackleg are guarded in going to and coming from the pits by special police and soldiers. Peace and quietness has reigned among the men for nine months, but notwithstanding this the Union men are shadowed by the forces of so-called law and order.

We trust that our brother Unionists of England and Scotland will do all possible to help us win this strike by preventing all practical coal miners from coming to Canada. This country is full of men unable to secure work of any kind, who are being helped by the authorities to keep them from dying of starvation.

Two of the districts within the strike zone have two Socialist representatives in the Provincial Legislature, and this has apparently been made the excuse for much of the unjust and cruel treatment of the men. Reference to this has been made in the Labour Commissioner's recent report on the present dispute. Dealing with attempts made by the Union to reach a settlement the Commissioner says:

"The companies are not disposed to favour negotiations with the organisation involving recognition because it is an alien organisation, also because it is led by men who are imbued with Socialist ideas."

Further he states:

"The attempts at organisation were made in a way that involved recognition, and which could only have been expected to defeat its own purpose."

Any sane person can see at a glance the significance of this comment. It means that the position of the coal operators is favoured as against that of the men.

Bitter contempt and opposition has been shown all through by the Government; even the prisoners and their wives have been confronted with bitter irony and reproach by the judges, and in addition the most unjustifiable sentences have been passed upon them. One of these judges made himself conspicuous by saying that the spirits of the miners would be broken by the penalties imposed.

After sentence the men have received treatment of the most inhuman kind, consisting of insanitary feeding and sleeping arrangements, so much so that sickness has ensued, and death in one instance resulted.

We are asked to state that the strike is still in progress and that miners should stay away.

SWEILED HEADS.

To-day the capitalist class is in possession of all the means of wealth production. Some members of that class own but a small share, others scarcely realise the extent of their possessions, they are so large. Trade and commerce are always more or less of a gamble to the individual capitalist, and in this game of hazard it necessarily follows that occasionally the small capitalist will increase his share and become a creature of some importance in the capitalist world.

Competition there is, often involving for some loss and even failure, while shrewdness, cunning, and good luck, always backed by some capital, will lift others into prominence and greater affluence, though such cases become more rare as the system develops. It is from such as these we get the egotistical columns of trash, cooked interviews, half advertisement and half self praise, that figure largely in the modern newspaper. "The story of my phenomenal success," by A. W. Gammon; "Advice to young men who want to get on," by Lord Selfrich, and such-like stories almost as wonderful as the "Arabian Nights" entertainments.

Were some of these gentlemen afflicted with George Washingtonism—physically incapable of telling a lie—we should find them proclaiming that all their lives they had been idle loafers compared with the average worker in his every-day struggle for a bare existence.

The competition between capitalists is of an entirely different order to that between the workers. In the former there is seldom any worse penalty than compulsory economising. In the case of the worker, however, failure means slow starvation, disease and death. The penalty that awaits the unfortunate worker is constantly before his eyes; every day brings fresh object lessons, and every ragged tramp he meets reminds him of the stern necessity of a ready response to capitalist discipline.

The capitalist knows he is useless and unnecessary in the actual operations of production. He relies on managers and overseers chosen from the workers, who, because of their technical knowledge—and fear—pump the maximum of energy from the slaves. Everyone knows that speeding up increases in every occupation and that competition grows more fierce almost daily.

These facts are matter for self-congratulation to the wealthy egotist, who would like us to believe that he only escaped these conditions through his exceptional ability and marvellous brain power. Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., in a recent article to the, now defunct, "London Budget," is an instance of this fatuous attitude of mind. He deals with social questions from a personal standpoint and the result is a conglomeration of platitudes, fallacies and contradictions. He says:

"I feel for the rising generation, seeing the difficulties before them are far greater than what faced the boys of my boyhood. There are too many doctors, and not enough patients; there are too many lawyers, and not enough legal business; there are too many builders, and not enough houses to build—all through life it is the same."

Plenty of weavers and not enough cloth to weave. Plenty of bootmakers, not enough boots to be made; and of all biting inconsistencies, plenty of pawnbrokers, not enough poor to keep them flourishing.

There is no suggestion that there is not enough land, containing the requisite substances for the production of all these different forms of wealth, while there is the bald admission that there is a superfluity of willing workers. The nature given material is here in abundance, the workers are plentiful, the harvest is rich; why, then, is there poverty? Because production is not carried on for use, but to meet the demands of the market that the capitalist may realise the value existing in commodities over and above the workers' wages, or cost of living. In a word production is not carried on for the benefit of the producers, but for the profit of capitalist non-producers.

That is why society has developed the inconsistency mentioned by Sir George and quoted above. Unemployment is the natural consequence of a system where the means of life are owned by a small class who buy labour-power

as a commodity. Slow starvation, the result of unemployment, is therefore natural and necessary to Capitalism. Sir George says:

"What happens is that every three generations the pressure of the competition of life becomes so overpowering that, unless there are fields for emigration or wars or great pestilences, it is inevitable that an ever-growing proportion of the population must die of slow starvation."

In a statement which appears precise and is not, he merely admits the claim of the Socialist that under Capitalism slow starvation exists as a natural effect of the system. Not only so, but he gives us another point in our case:

"The more prosperous a country becomes the more its wealth becomes segregated in a few hands, and the more intense the pressure of life on the rest of the population."

What could the Socialist say of Capitalism that would be more damning—the more prosperous a country, the greater the wealth of the few and the more intense the poverty of the many. A system of society where men, women and children die of slow starvation because there are too many workers and not enough work to be done, and this is the best of all possible systems in the best of worlds. The truth will out though an army of social quacks, sky pilots and labour leaders do their best to smother it in confusion. Our "aged knight" in his dotage cannot withhold the truth, which escapes him in the simple language of second childhood.

While speaking of the actual conditions he is safe because he is dealing with facts, but when he moralises he simply babbles. "There is no adversity that happens to one which cannot be traced to one's own fault." His former statement "That an ever-growing proportion of the population must die of slow starvation" is forgotten. To be born a member of the class where competition is so fierce is surely the greatest adversity that can happen to one, yet such a calamity is altogether beyond our control.

His advice to "take life as it comes" is only fit for cowards. Submit tamely to exploitation and slavery. Believe in the divine right of a parasitic class to own the means of life. Be thankful for our own microscopic share of the wealth which we alone produce. Our shoddy clothes, adulterated food, and the reeking slums in which we fester out our lives. "Take life as it comes." Never question the right of our masters to live in idleness and luxury; and when members of the working class are murdered in mine and factory for profits, accept it as the will of god Capital. Though unemployment increase (as it must); though wages are reduced and prices rise; though our fellow-workers tramp the streets in droves, and tiny children are used up like raw material in the factory bells, do not complain, join the P.S.A. and—"take life as it comes."

Let the cravens and sycophants among the workers follow the "aged knight's" advice. But those who have a spark of manhood will scorn such inaction. A knowledge of the conditions he describes transforms real men and women into rebels; fire them with the determination to understand the cause of their poverty and to end it. Our movement is for those who will act with us, when they are convinced.

Based upon science, the working-class position is, nevertheless, easily understood. Once understood there can be no backstairs and no wire-pulling. Its single object—the organisation of our class as a political party to overthrow Capitalism and establish Socialism—is never obscured. Our Declaration of Principles shows the need for, and the way to achieve this object. They are clear, simple and pregnant with truth. No matter how stupendous the task may seem, it is the only way, and the working class, without guides or leaders, must take it if they would be free.

F. F.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. T. Nicholson (Walthamstow).—In view of the fact that we have in hand the clergyman's own rejoinder to our reply, the publication of your contribution to the discussion on "Socialism and Religion" is deferred. L

THE MAXIMUM PROFIT.

As was pointed out in our recent exposure of Lloyd George's Land Campaign, the treatment received by the miners in their struggle for a minimum wage supplies a good example of Liberal method in dealing with such cases.

Yet in spite of what the past can teach as to the effect of Capitalist legislation upon working-class conditions, thousands of toilers are now looking forward to the time when this much-mouthing scheme of "land reform" shall materialise into an Act of Parliament. That being the case, the reproduction of a few statements made by supporters of this latest Liberal fraud might prove useful.

Extract number one shows clearly the lines upon which the Liberal's action is based.

"All experience not only in this but in other industries, and not only in this country and time, but in other countries and other times—shows that ill-paid labour is the least efficient, and an increase in efficiency due to better food and to raising of the general conditions of daily life will, sooner or later, and we think sooner rather than later, make itself apparent in increased productiveness and yield."

And further we read:

"I have given you a general survey of our proposals. What I have to say in conclusion is this. There is nothing in them that is unfair to any class or interest involved. There is nothing in them that imposes upon any owner of land in town or country a heavier burden than that which every wise and public spirited owner is under existing conditions, not only willing, but anxious to assume."

With these words did Asquith, in a speech at the National Liberal Club, reported by the "Daily Chronicle," (10.12.13) soothe the troubled mind of any Capitalist employer that was perturbed by the sight of "David" dangling such juicy fruit before the workers' eyes.

The statement that the Liberals do not intend to impose "a heavier burden than that which every wise and public spirited owner is under existing conditions, not only willing but anxious to assume," is borne out by Lord Ashby St. Leger's, a large land-owner—and evidently a wise one—who is putting into practice upon his own estate the theory advanced by this "Featherstone hero." And in order to advertise his "generosity" or wisdom, he tells us through the "Daily News and Leader" (19.11.13):

"He believed that good wages were commercially sound. Lady Wimborne and himself had realised a project which had long engaged their attention. They were taking two farms in hand. A standard wage of 21s. 6d. would be paid for adult labour, which, after allowing for an economic rent for cottage and garden, would leave the labourer with a remuneration which was 30 per cent. more than the average and 50 per cent. more than the minimum which they had ascertained was previously current in the district. The number of hands would be increased and a half holiday would be granted. This standard would apply to all their employees engaged in rural pursuits. An economic rent would be paid to the landlord for the farm, and further, he was sanguine that the undertaking would show a profit on the capital invested."

"How could all this be achieved? The talisman on which he relied was increased productivity and increased output. Sufficient capital and improved up-to-date methods would accomplish wonders."

In this and the previous statement I have quoted the essential point is admitted—that, if an increase of wages takes place greater efficiency obtains, cancelling any benefits that would otherwise fall to the worker, and consequently leaving the employer on the winning side.

Thus the hopeful outlook for the farm worker is further speeding up by means of more up-to-date methods, a greater expenditure of energy in the day's toil, with the result that any increase in wages will be absorbed in supplying this much abused machine—the modern wage earner—with extra fuel, in the form of food, clothing, and shelter, to meet the increasing output of labour power. More work per man will mean a fall in the number employed on a given task,

resulting in the number of unemployed rising. His life yet further shortened and its misery magnified by the more intense character of labour, the agricultural worker will realise that the master class in their greed for profit respect not his comfort, nor even his life.

The truly capitalist nature of this scheme is further emphasised by Lloyd George. The "Daily Chronicle" (23.12.13) reports this mouth almighty of the Liberal Party in these words:

"I will be an exception made in the case of old men" (the minimum wage is the subject referred to) "who cannot be expected to render the same service as they were capable of giving in the days of their prime, and who are kept on to do light work on the farm often from motives of kindness and goodwill."

So much for the party whose heart bleeds for the aged worker when sentiment would harmonise with economy. But why an exception in the case of old men? From motives of kindness and goodwill? Far from it. The Capitalists do not intend to "flog a dead horse." Having passed their "prime" the old men are not fit material for this method of speeding up, consequently the increased wage would not accomplish the desired effect of greater profit, which being the "all in all" of the master class, the aged worker must toil on for the miserable pittance he is at present compelled to "live" upon, when an employer can be found, who— "from motives of kindness and goodwill"—will exploit him.

Such is the position of the working class, who, being propertyless, can live only by selling themselves for wages to those that own the means of wealth production. While these conditions remain poverty and misery must be the workers' portion. Only by changing the basis of society from one of private to that of common ownership, can this slavery and all the evils it implies be ended. The class that to-day own and control the means of production must therefore be overthrown. To do this the workers, united by a common knowledge of their class position, must organise into a political party, secure political power by the strength of their vote, and use that power to place society upon the foundation of Common Ownership, from which will rise a system in which slave and parasite, poverty and gluttony will be impossible, but where all shall shoulder a fair portion of the social labour, and in return enjoy a like portion of the social product.

C. LAKE.

THE QUESTION OF INCENTIVE.

The recent report in the "Daily Sketch" of the once well known actor Walter Hemming—professionally known as "Witty Walter Walton"—"lying at Death's door, with fame and money gone, after amusing thousands of people," once again shows Capitalism in its true light. The "Daily Sketch" in giving his life's history says: "His is the old story of a footlight favourite who outlives his fame," and winds up with the remark: "Bad luck, ill health, and vacant dates made inroads into his savings, and to day the man who made much money for himself and more for other people (italics mine) is penniless."

His bankruptcy, broken health, and dangerous illness at the age of 72, after about half a century of hard labour as a profit making machine, following upon the death in abject misery and poverty, in Paris, of the man who invented cold storage and thus put thousands of pounds into the coffers of a certain section of the capitalist class, should demonstrate to the most sceptical the fact that the master class, after squeezing a wage slave dry, will throw him aside on the industrial scrap-heap like a sucked orange.

It is not long since a once famous opera singer who, according to the Capitalist Press, "sang with all the famous opera singers of the day," died in a London slum in poverty, hunger, and dirt. That organ of light and truth, the "London Daily Express," recently said that "at the inquest on Mr. Richard Green, a once popular opera singer who had committed suicide, it was stated that he had been driven to sleep on the Embankment." The recent bankruptcy and consequent return to poverty of Preston Mud-dock, who, under the nom de plume of Dick

Donovan, became famous to fiction lovers as the writer of hundreds of detective novels, is still fresh in the mind of the present writer. Many other instances could be quoted to show the reward of industry under Capitalism, but the above will suffice.

In spite of the Capitalistic "copy book" platitudinarians, who prate that "it is better to go up like a rocket and come down like the stick, than never to go up at all," the thinking man will still want to know how it is that members of the working class who, after a life of weary toil, have distinguished themselves, are left to starve and die in abject poverty, as soon as they cease to produce as much profit as they formerly did.

Why should workers, who, benefiting society, become as prominent as these, suffer from the effects of "a rainy day"? Those scoffers who introduce the ancient tag: "What incentive will there be under Socialism," should ask themselves in all seriousness, in view of the foregoing: "What incentive is there under Capitalism?"

Take labour-saving inventions, for instance. Every working-class inventor knows full well that unemployment will be caused to members of his own class, by his invention being placed on the market. What incentive is there for him to invent? The desire to benefit society? Not a bit of it! The need for bread, more probably. Indeed, many a wage slave has withheld his invention from the world, recognising that labour-saving appliances mean increased unemployment and consequent misery and degradation, in the particular trade his invention is used in. Then again, what reward does the inventor reap? As a rule his invention, valuable though it may be, is bought by some rich company for a very trifling sum. All along the line inventors have received a miserable amount for their efforts. So we see that under Socialism, when poverty, hunger, and want will be banished from every hearth, the incentive to invent will be much greater than under the adverse conditions of to-day. The inventor will then have every incentive, realising that in a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of all the machinery of wealth production and distribution, every invention he brings forward, instead of throwing his fellow workmen out of employment, as it did in the dark ages of Capitalism, will mean a reduction in the hours and monotony of labour, and consequent increase in the hours of leisure. Then inventions will benefit all mankind, whereas to-day they only benefit a small profit-grabbing capitalist class.

What greater incentive could obtain?

The night of working-class misery is going to be very dark, and many a "hopeless dawn" will be encountered before the dawn of Socialism arrives. Hunted and harried by the master class; bullied, insulted, and brow beaten by their henchmen and foremen; daily, aye, hourly haunted by the fear of starvation and unemployment; led into quagmires and blind alleys by those political will-o'-the-wisps the "labour bleeders"; intellectually chloroformed with that narcotic religion, the workers' lives to-day are a burden to them—a longer or shorter, painful journey from cradle to coffin. Born slaves, they are slaves all their lives, and slaves they die.

The menacing operations of combines and trusts, which ignorant capitalist politicians think they can smash; the always increasing output of labour, assisted by improved machinery, and coupled with the competition of awakening Eastern nations, must cause more and more workers to be consigned to the industrial scrap-heap.

Along with the speeding up of the exploited will be the competition of the unemployed for the situations of those in work. Hunger and disease, prostitution and squalor, are bound to get worse, and will ever dog the worker's footsteps. Capitalism is rotten ripe. The social system is ready for a change. Its utility in developing industry is finished and it has outlived its usefulness.

We of the S.P.G.B. earnestly exhort our fellow-workers to organise with us now; to wage the biggest war the world has ever known—a war by its very nature international; a war upon which depends the happiness, joy and freedom of the class whose brain and brawn alone pro-

duce everything useful and necessary to society the war known as the class struggle.

Fellow wage slaves, when are you going to waken up and help us with this work, your and our emancipation? A. C. KELLY.

THE FORUM.

MUST WE WAIT FOR THE 'NIGGER'?

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Dear Sir,—Those of us who are interested in the wider application of the Principles of Socialism would be glad, if it were possible, to have discussed that clause in the Declaration of Principles that says the "emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex."

In its application to sex it is sufficiently obvious that the emancipation of the male working class, as the result of the economic change from Capitalism to Socialism, will bring with it the emancipation of the female portion of the working class at one and the same time. But in its connection with what is known as the "Yellow Peril," and the position of a subject race as it obtains in many of the Colonies not only of Great Britain but of most of the colonising European countries, the position of the Socialist movement and the working class emancipation following upon its success, is by no means so clear. The native races of these colonies, as they are brought within the scope of capitalist production, introduce a new element into the working class. The standard of living, upon which competition in the labour market operates, is in their case usually lower than that of the European, and they very soon become, as experience shows, competitors with the white worker to the detriment of the latter, and the general lowering of the standard of living. The same thing applies when the European colonist is up against the competition of the Asiatic races. In some parts of Western America as well as in Australia, the competition of the Japanese and Chinese workers has practically crowded the white worker out of the locality.

The germ of the Socialist idea arises from the pressure of economic conditions upon the workers. The increasing pressure arising from the growth of Capitalism, and the ever widening division between the classes, makes the development of that idea, and the perfection of its expression in the Socialist movement, the natural result of the development of Capitalism. As the consciousness of the source of pressure expands with the development of Capitalism, so the resistance to economic pressure leaves the incoherent, blind stultice of labourism and its kindred forms and becomes definitely Socialist. The introduction of a lower class of labour in the form of coloured workers, means putting back the hands of the clock considerably if the Socialist movement must wait upon the class consciousness of Coolie labour. If not, how will the emancipation, which must be the work of the working class itself, emancipate all mankind without distinction of race.—Yours faithfully, "ENGINEER."

It is pleasing to note (vide the "London Typographical Circular") that the booklet recently issued by the Army authorities was printed in a Trade Union shop. It will, no doubt, also be the pleasing result of those T.U. circulars, that the new recruits will wear T.U. clothes, use guns made in T.U. shops, and fire T.U. bullets into T.U. craniums. T. A.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 R. Reynolds	R. Bruce	A. Barker	S. Blake
Clapham Common	7.30 C. Baggett	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	H. Cooper
Clapton, N.E., Longwall Rd.	7.30 A. Sadd	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	C. Baggett
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Sadd	A. Cox	T. W. Lobb
Finbury Park	7.30 A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson	A. Wallis	G. Seech
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 H. Joy	A. Anderson	F. Vickers	J. Fitzgerald
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Bays	J. Wray	H. King	B. Young
Ilford (Station)	7.30 F. Vickers	J. Le Carte	J. G. Stone	A. Sadd
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 J. Ward	L. Lytton	C. Parker	J. Wray
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 R. Bruce	A. Barker	E. Lake	H. Joy
" "	11.30 T. W. Lobb	R. Reynolds	B. Young	G. Seech
" "	7.30 A. L. Cox	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	R. Bruce
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Sadd	C. Elliott	S. Blake	A. Anderson
Parliament Hill	11.30 C. Elliott	A. Wallis	T. Wilks	W. Thorne
Peckham Triangle	7.30 A. Hoskyns	A. Hoskyns	R. Reynolds	J. Ward
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. G. Stone	R. H. Kent	H. Joy	A. Wallis
" "	7.30 S. Blake	H. Cooper	A. W. Pearson	E. Lake
Tottenham, West Green Car.	7.30 A. Barker	G. Seech	A. W. Pearson	R. H. Kent
" "	11.30 A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	C. Baggett	A. W. Pearson
Victoria Park	7.30 J. Wray	H. Joy	T. W. Lobb	A. Anderson
Walham Green Church	4.0 A. Jacobs	A. L. Cox	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	7.30 J. G. Stone	E. Fairbrother	H. Cooper	A. Barker
Watford, Market Place	7.30 B. Young	A. Bays	R. Bruce	A. Jacobs
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	B. Wilks	A. Sadd	A. Bays
" "	11.30 A. W. Pearson	B. Young	F. W. Stearn	R. Reynolds
" "	7.30 A. Wallis	A. Hoskyns	J. Wray	A. W. Pearson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Wimbledon, Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30. Stoke Newington, Palantine-rd., 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britania-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Secy., 193 Grays Inn-rd., W.C. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Fridays at 8 p.m. at 295 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.
GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.
ILFORD.—"Secretary," 119 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. at 66, Ilford Lane.
KILBURN.—J. White, Secretary, 65 Southam-street, N. Kensington. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 69 High-rd., Kilburn (side door).
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.
MARYLEBONE. S. W. Todd, Sec., 16 Clarendon Ter., Maida Vale, W. Branch meets Sats., at 7.30, at Bennett's Restaurant, 82 Lisson-grove, N.W.
N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Tues. at 8, at Poulson's Coffee Tavern, 235 Portobello-rd., Notting Hill.
NOTTINGHAM. L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets altn. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON. A. Clarke, Secretary, 82, Mildmay-rd., Newington Green. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons., public discussion (other Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.

FOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Aranch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Balid-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets alt. Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Rd., Wood Green. From Jan. 5 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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OF THE

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LONDON, MAY, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

MARX'S WORK AND ITS LESSONS.

A HISTORICAL SURVEY.

In these days of strike fever, when the workers through their poverty and ignorance are so easily misled and betrayed by self-styled Labour "leaders," whose object is to advertise themselves and their misleading "Labour" papers,

Political Economy Defined. it would be well, nay, it is essential, for the working class to study the important question of political economy. They would, by such a course of study,

be enabled to think out for themselves the correct method of organisation that it is necessary for them to adopt in order to achieve their emancipation.

Political economy, or, as it is commonly called to-day, economics, deals with the methods of producing and distributing wealth. Although Aristotle, and some so-called French economists, are labelled economists, yet, to speak strictly, economics as a true science dates from the time of William Petty—even though some like to claim Adam Smith as the father of political economy. It is only when production on a comparatively large scale is in existence, and when, therefore, statistics are needed, that the science of economics can arise. That is the reason that political economy as a science took the lead in England, for it was there that capitalism first developed on a grand scale.

We find that from the time of Petty, Adam Smith, McCulloch, etc., down to Ricardo (these are the classic economists of England) there was an attempt made to discover the secret of the method of capitalist wealth production. These early economists were, however, hampered by the undeveloped state of capitalist production itself. At this period the capitalist was, generally speaking, a manager of his works, and had also a hand in production. No wonder, then, is it that the economists of the period could not discover the secret of capitalist accumulation, or, as it is better to say, of surplus value.

The basis of the value of an article, said these economists, was labour. And who was to say no to this? Was not the capitalist himself a worker? Was he not in the workshop all day long and even all through the night with his workmen, working himself and taking good care also that his employees did not shirk their work? Surely, then, this theory of value was justified?

But when the present system of wealth production developed, and the employer, by placing a manager over his works, had no need to remain in the workshop or factory, then the theory that labour was the basis of value was no longer tenable. A new theory had to be conceived.

Since then we find the pseudo-economists springing up like mushrooms, notably Professors Jevons, and Marshall, who may be

termed the utilitarian economists. They claim that the value of an article is determined by its utility, since the more useful it is the greater will be the demand for it. These so-called economists are merely apologists for capitalist society.

It will be seen, then, that political economy had fallen from the classical to the apologetic.

Clearly political economy was in a sorry plight. It could only be saved by looking at it through proletarian instead of through bourgeois spectacles.

The man to accomplish this was Karl Marx. Already, by studying Hegel's philosophy, he had realised that the world conditions were in a state of perpetual change. And by applying this idea to the social world he saw that history showed that prior to the present form of society there existed other forms. Consequently Marx was led to ask whether the system prevailing to-day would also give place to another system. To answer that question Marx found that it would be necessary to analyse the present system of society and see if there are any forces at work that will ultimately cause a change in the social system.

He found that society is based upon the method of producing and distributing wealth, for which reason he proceeded to analyse capitalist wealth. This, of course, led him into the domain of economics.

By studying economic science Marx came to the conclusion that under the present method of wealth production all wealth is produced for exchange, hence the need of analysing a peculiar form of value, known as exchange-value. He mastered it, and gave the solution to the world in his famous "Das Kapital."

Briefly put, it amounts to this. Say a piece of cloth is to be transformed into a coat. This is done by the associated labour of trained workmen called tailors. By the necessary labour of these tailors the cloth has had its value increased by being converted into a coat. It is the amount of expended energy that is on the average necessary to produce the coat that has determined the value of the garment.

So it is with all other commodities, i.e., articles of exchange. It is the socially necessary labour power which would be needed to produce similar articles at the time and place in which they are required that determines the value of the article.

But how, again, is this necessary labour determined? To find out this Marx does what the schoolboy does when he wishes to find the common factor in an arithmetical sum. The boy brings down his numbers to a common denominator. Marx, in like manner, brings down the labour power of workmen, under the deno-

mination of time, whether "skilled" or "unskilled," since the "skilled" can be reckoned as so many hours of "unskilled" labour time. ||

Having arrived thus far, Marx's theory of value is that it is the socially necessary labour time which it would be needful to expend on the production of a given class of commodity at a given time that determines their value at that time.

It will be seen from this that the older economists' theory that labour is the basis of value falls to the ground, since Karl Marx proves that value is not determined by the labour of this or that individual—for one man may take a longer or shorter period than another to produce a given commodity. No, the value of an article is determined by a social process. It is known that if a new machine is introduced on a large scale in the production say of boots, by means of which boots can be produced with a smaller expenditure of labour power, it will have the effect (other things remaining the same) of cheapening boots, because less time will be needed to produce a given quantity of boots.

Again the utilitarian theory fails also, for if supply and demand determine the value of commodities, what determines the value of commodities when supply and demand balance each other? Only Marx's theory of value answers that.

Now it will be seen by our illustration of the cloth being transformed into a coat, that value has been added to the cloth to make it appear in the form of a coat. In a word, value has been added to the cloth by the expenditure of the labour power of certain workers. Do these workers receive as wages an amount of value equivalent to the value they have produced?

By no means. Since the worker hires himself out to a master because he has no other means of making his living, he receives from his master the value of his labour power only—that is, not the value that the labour power produces, but the amount which the labour power costs to produce.

Labour power, therefore, is a commodity, and like all other commodities, is bought and sold on the average at its value, that being, in the case of labour power, the amount the worker needs to reproduce his efficiency.

So, if it takes three hours to produce a day's labour-power, and the worker labours for his master ten hours, the worker is being robbed of the fruits of seven hours labour, or, what is the same thing, the master is appropriating surplus value amounting to (reckoning on the basis of time) seven hours.

This was the secret of capitalist accumulation discovered. The worker when receiving a wage

which is the price of his labour-power, generally thinks that he is receiving equivalent value for his work. Marx was the first economist to show that this is not so, but that the worker receives only the value of his labour-power—that which is needed for his upkeep.

Between the buyers and sellers of labour-power, i.e., between employers and employees, a continual struggle is waged. The first try to force wages down; the second endeavour to raise them as high as possible. But the power of capital has always in the long run been the mightier. With the spread of capitalism the wage-slaves have fallen more and more under the yoke of the capitalists, who are enabled to enforce their demands with the aid of the military and police forces.

As the present system develops the conditions that the workers are forced to submit to become almost unbearable. From these conditions the workers can free themselves only by overthrowing the present system of society and establishing a system based upon ownership by the whole of the people of the means of production and distribution.

This, then, is the lesson that Karl Marx, by his analysis of the present system of wealth production teaches. It is left for the working class to accept that teaching, and to organise to end the struggle by ending the system. L. M.

A CLERGYMAN'S ATTACK ON THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

Your reply is somewhat as I expected. I looked for thinness of argument veiled behind abuse. If the abuse is absent so also is the argument. You have combined acuteness with ignorance, quibbling with evasion, and bluster with all. You are quite right in pointing out that none of the statements which I controverted is vital to Christianity; for if you take the trouble to look up my previous correspondence you will see that I did not set out to defend Christianity. No defence is needed until a real attack is threatened.

I.

But let me examine your reply. You attempt to ridicule my statement that the Origin of Religion has not been found in ghost worship: (i) by a piece of foolishness; (ii) by a misstatement; (iii) by an evasion.

(i) You insert some interesting information as to the date of death of certain people, your theory being, I presume, that they are no longer to be listened to, because they preceded Spencer. Intelligent readers will perceive that this is a very foolish criterion. Euclid, Newton, Leibniz, Euler, Legendre have been long dead, and yet no serious mathematician can ignore them.

(ii) You dismiss Rawlinson, Caird and Flint because they were "theologians, whose evidence can no more be accepted as unprejudiced than can that of a brewer regarding the social utility of beer!" Had you known your subject, you would have observed that James Caird the theologian is not the same person as Edward Caird the philosopher, whose opinion I quoted. Further, do you insinuate that the livelihood of those men was bound up with their defence of some other theory than that of Spencer's? Then note that Rawlinson was Camden Professor of History; E. Caird was Professor of Moral Philosophy; and Flint held a similar chair for some time. In short, mercenary motives did not, and could not, enter.

(iii) But supposing that modernness was absolutely essential, even supposing that no theologian was capable of giving an opinion, your argument collapses, for you most astutely ignored the most modern of the names I quoted. Max-Müller, Von Hartmann, Paulsen are all as modern as Spencer, or even more so; not one of them agrees with his theory; and at least the first two, by their depth of study, their breadth of scholarship, their clarity of reasoning, hold the field to day, Spencer to the contrary notwithstanding.

Proceeding, I perceive that you have misunderstood the point of my concluding remarks under the first section. I am sorry, yet not surprised. It is a simple point, yet one often missed by the hasty. It is this: The answer to the question "How?" is rarely, or never, also

an answer to the further question "Why?" Most books of elementary philosophy will make this clear to an enquiring reader, I will not, therefore, take up space in illustrating it.

II.

You next proceed to demolish (?) my statement that the Hebrews did not believe in the Resurrection-life; and this you do by quoting Encyc. Brit., Vol. 8, p. 536. Clever man! Had you taken the trouble to read the whole article, instead of wrenching snippets from their context, you would have seen that my statement was fully borne out. Not until the Judaic period began did the doctrine of the Resurrection arise; and even in the time of Christ, orthodox Judaism (the Sadducees) denied there was any resurrection (Luke 20, 27). "Better still, see the Old Testament" as you say, for it confutes you. If you had but known it, every one of your references is very late: e.g., Dan. 12, 2, was written nearly 300 years after the foundation of Judaism; even as conservative a critic as Ewald puts Pa. 16 late in date; Duham dates Is. 26, 19 over 300 years after the close of the Hebrew period; Macc. 7, 14 about the same; while to quote Josephus as an authority on the Hebrew creed is as bad as to cite Marie Corelli's novels as illustrating religion in the 12th century. Gentle reader, peruse the Book of Job if you are still in doubt, and you will find that my adversary is floundering in a bog of error.

III.

In your section on miracles I am afraid you betray a want of reasoning. You imagine I imply that miracles never have been put forward as a proof of Christianity. I suppose you could not answer my plain statement that for many years the argument from miracles has been given up, because the content of the term "miracle" has changed completely since the time that science has ceased to be dogmatic. Christians rely on facts which happen daily within their own experience, and facts which psychologists are recognising and accepting more fully every year. Your jibe about Christian "peasants" is worthy of you. I put it alongside of those "jokes" which some make against Socialism.

IV.

Now you proceed to "controvert" my denial that submission is the "cardinal ethic" of Christianity. This you do in a way that is ludicrous to anyone who knows the New Testament well. You first endeavour to show that submission is taught in the N.T., apparently not realising that it might be taught without it being the cardinal ethic. To bolster up your case you quote a number of words whose meanings in the N.T. you evidently don't understand. Your knowledge of the works of Spencer, Marx and Engels may be good, but I would advise you, for your own sake, to make sure that you understand the New Testament before you begin to criticise it, lest you fall into another bog of errors similar to those exposed in No. II. In any case, you do not see that even if submission was the cardinal ethic of Christianity, it would apply as much to the Christian employer as to the Christian employed, would not be applicable only to the "masses."

V.

I close by noting with amusement your remark that Christianity in particular and Theism in general is "melting away." Doubtless "the wish is father to the thought." If your readers will get hold of as much literature bearing on the history of the progress of Christianity as they can, they will find that the same cry has been raised by Anti-Christians generation after generation. In actual fact the Christian Churches (by no means as large as the sum-total of Christians) are entering on a new era of triumph, because the "hangers-on" are falling off, and the sincere have got a wider outlook and a clearer vision.

As to Theism, I repeat my assertion that reading will show that Materialism is dead as a door-nail. I expected you would quote Dr. Schäfer. If he is right in his theory, which is by no means accepted by all scientists, it will only explain the "How?" (see I). On turning to Lotze (a theist as nearly all philosophers of the 19th century were,) you will find an explanation of the "Why?" Science, as you say, deals with facts, which belong to the "phenomenal" world; the discerning mind therefore perceives that it is incapable of even so much

as approaching the Real (vide Spencer, amongst others).

Finally, I read with amusement your statement that any schoolboy could tell me that my second principle in Natural History is only a part of the first. If you like to gain information from schoolboys you are welcome to do so; I prefer better authorities, for schoolboys sometimes make "howlers." When the leaders of research in this branch of knowledge say that these two principles are really one, which they do not, I will withdraw my criticism, but not till then.

Your loose and scattered defence, if one may call it by that name, can only sway the ignorant. Let your readers put us both to the test; let them turn to the books which can be had in any good library. I am quite willing to abide by the result, for "great is the Truth and it shall prevail." If you dare permit them to test you in the same way, then will be fulfilled the purpose of Philalethes.

OUR REPLY.

Philalethes does not like his medicine. His annoyance is quite understandable because, although to suit his own case he carefully selected a few inessential points as far as the pamphlet is concerned, he has signally failed to substantiate a single one of his pretended "facts."

With the charity that we have learnt to expect from the Christian he tells us he expected abuse, and appears to have a grievance because he did not get it. On the other hand, the "reply" to the facts given in our last contribution, is, as will have been noticed, mingled evasion and bluster which verges on the insulting. We will examine his latest epistle in order to make plain to him that his fatuous charges of "ignorance," "evasion," "bluster" and "foolishness" recoil upon his own head.

His opening paragraph contains a misrepresentation worthy of him. We indicated that none of the statements he contested was vital to the position laid down in the pamphlet; he childishly says that we stated that none of his points was vital to Christianity. Comment is needless.

I.

The statement regarding the origin of religion that was in dispute was that it is generally accepted that ancestor-worship was the earliest form of religion. And to show that this is not accepted to-day Philalethes cited blindly men who had been dead many decades before modern research opened out such wide horizons to comparative religion! That is about as intelligent a proceeding as it would be to quote Dalton and his predecessors against the fact that the electron, and no longer the atom, is generally accepted to-day as the smallest particle of matter! Moreover, our opponent made the entirely false statement, which we disproved, that "Caepari and Le Bon alone agree with Spencer." His silence on this point is eloquent as to his intellectual honesty. He further says that it was Edward Caird, not James Caird, that he cited. Evidently he knew so little of his subject that he did not realize the necessity of saying so. But who is James Caird, the theologian? He is unknown to the encyclopedia. Our reference was to John Caird, professor of theology, Gifford Lecturer, author of the "Introduction to the philosophy of Religion," etc., elder brother to Edward Caird, the moral philosopher, and considered the more famous of the two. In speaking of a James Caird in this connection Philalethes again exposes his ignorance.

His further unsupported assertion that Müller and Von Hartmann hold the field to-day, with the theory of Henotheism which he attributes to them, is quite beneath contempt as evidence, and beside the truth.

II.

With regard to our demolition of his assertion that the Hebrews did not believe in existence after death, Philalethes says the article in the Ency. Brit. from which we quoted fully bears out his contention. This can only be characterised as a deliberate untruth, as every reader can test for himself. He wisely refrains from quotation. And it is not of the slightest use for him to ring the changes by referring to the development of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which is a distinct issue. The point is

that the Eley, Britt. and practically every competent authority, recognise that the Hebrews believed in the persistence of life after death. They had a special name for the ghost or spirit and imagined a special abiding place in Sheol. We took our opponent at his word, and applied the library test, with disastrous results to his so-called facts.

In order to convince us he advises us to peruse the book of Job. His recommendation is indeed diverting. The book is dated by modern critics variously between the 4th and 9th centuries B.C., which is sufficient indication of the utter worthlessness of the other dates given by our opponent.

The book tells what happened to Job, a non-Israelite, who, with the gracious permission of the Almighty, and at the instigation of his Satanic Majesty, suffers grievous losses and afflictions as a test of his faith. It is therefore difficult to see how it could help Philalethes's argument. And the reader who accepts the advice to look up this philosophical poem will wonder still more as he reads. One passage in particular is worth quoting in this connection. Ch. XIX, 25 seq:

"But I know that my redeemer liveth, and afterwards he shall arise on the dust, and after my skin, even this body, is destroyed, without my flesh I shall see God; whom I shall see for myself, and mine own eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger."

It only remains for Philalethes to tell us that if we understood the Bible as well as we "understand the works of Spencer, Marx and Engels," we would see that this really means that the Hebrews did not believe in the spirit life!

III.

Our opponent now admits that miracles have been put forward as a proof of Christianity. Why, then, did he fall foul of the pamphlet on this point? Moreover, we must add in the interest of truth, that though, as pointed out in the pamphlet, science has compelled many ministers such as Philalethes to abandon their old positions, yet, as we showed, the Catholic Church in many places, and other priests and street corner gossippers when dealing with the uneducated, repeatedly make use of pretended miracles as evidence of the value of their creed. Verily, since St. Paul, the Christian is all things to all men!

IV.

On the matter of submissiveness being taught in the New Testament, our antagonist now admits this to be so, therefore his statement that we do not understand the words we have quoted is quite gratuitous. His further assertion that "even if submission was the cardinal ethic of Christianity it would apply as much to the Christian employer as to the Christian employed," is a subtle joke much relished by the Christian employer. That Christ is the central figure in Christianity is obvious, and his character and whole teaching are instinct with meekness and humility. This cardinal ethic is a commercial asset to the exploiter when taught to wage-slaves, and it is recognised and paid for as such.

V.

The Christian Churches, we are next told, are entering on a new era of triumph because the "hangers-on" are falling away! To what straits must a Christian minister be reduced when he can console himself for the constantly growing indifference to Christianity, and ever-diminishing congregations, with such twaddle!

With regard to Materialism, as we have already pointed out, Materialistic Monism is the working creed of science to-day. Theism has been driven out. Our opponent's dismissal of Dr. Schäfer is idle, since practically all prominent biologists repudiate theistic or vitalistic explanations of the phenomena of life and explain all manifestations by materialistic processes. As our opponent rightly admits, science deals with phenomena, with facts, and by the same token we point out that this comprises all knowledge. Science is but organised knowledge, and where knowledge ends there are no facts, only the lies and fantasies of religion and superstition, themselves indeed phenomena of mental pathology.

Philalethes makes a very painful effort to smile because he was told that any schoolboy

could have put him right regarding the part played by mutual aid in evolution. He is wrong to refuse to learn from schoolboys, for though they do sometimes make "howlers," these are nothing to those made by professional Christians when talking of science. Surrounded by open mouthed "faithful," and inured thereby to the unquestioning acceptance of their every assertion, the ministers of the Gospel develop a recklessness of statement that stands them in poor stead with an informed opponent in the outer world.

If Philalethes would think he would realise how intimately united are the two factors, mutual aid and the struggle for survival. For the individual to struggle effectually it requires the co-operation of the cells, organs, and faculties of the individual. It further would be impossible for the struggle to take place without the co-operation of parents in family life, and of the tribe or community. In the struggle between species, that species is victorious, other things being equal, which has developed further the principle of mutual aid and common action in the struggle. It were idle to multiply the instances and labour the obvious. Suffice it to say there can be no struggle without the factor of mutual aid entering on each side, and where there is no struggle mutual aid is neither developed nor required.

It has been necessary to follow Philalethes in his devious and inconsequential wanderings in order to expose the futility of his argument and the falsity of his boasted "facts." Yet it is to be regretted that, owing to the mistaken cunning of the opponent, the main Socialist position on religion, as clearly outlined in the pamphlet in question, has not been dealt with. That it is impregnable we know, but a sincere opponent would at least have endeavoured to meet its main points. We are not simply anti-Christian. We are anti-Christian because we are Socialists, and the Socialist attitude toward religion is positive and scientific, not merely negative. It follows inevitably from the bed-rock of science upon which Socialism is founded.

Nevertheless, the controversy is not sheer waste. It serves to indicate the soundness and accuracy of the pamphlet upon even such minor points as a minister of the Gospel fondly imagined he could score off. His inability to defend his creed against the vital attack made upon it in the pamphlet, and his utter failure, even with such side issues as he dared to select, to controvert a single one of its facts, are eloquent of the weakness of his case and the strength of the Socialist position. E.D. Com.

A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

SOCIALISM in this country is dead and gone—according to Mr. Guy Bowman. He told a meeting of railwaymen at Burnley (5.4.14) that "the payment of M.P.'s, the establishment of Labour Exchanges, the granting of Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, and other such measures had resulted in there being nothing left for Socialist speakers to do," and that Lloyd George had taken their best men and found them good posts. Thus, by the artfulness of Lloyd George and the Liberal Government, Socialism was gone in this country, etc.

Which to put it mildly, is a lie. Not one of the above-mentioned measures ever was advocated by a Socialist. They are no part of Socialist propaganda and no Socialist is concerned about them—except to point out their futility. As for Lloyd George taking their best men, I should like to know the name of one. Perhaps Mr. Bowman will oblige? Not only is Socialism not dead, it is making greater headway in this country at the present moment than ever before in its history. There are more Socialists working for Socialism than ever before; but they are not to be found in the company that Mr. Bowman keeps. Is it Mr. Bowman's complaint that he hasn't got a job? Couldn't somebody find him one, say—in the Anti-Socialist Union, where he belongs?

"It is doubtful whether Mr. Sexton's play, 'The Riot Act,' which is to be produced in London shortly, will repeat its Liverpool success before audiences not particularly interested in

Labour problems. It is said that the financial success of this play was due largely to the support accorded by well known shipping magnates, who were delighted with Mr. Sexton's modified views and indicated their pleasure in a practical manner, much to the chagrin of the Labour leader's comrades. ("Daily Sketch," 20.3.14.)

There is nothing surprising in this. There is surely nothing about Mr. Sexton's views that the master class can find objection to. "Jim" always had a leaning for the patronage of the aristocracy and was never happier than when he was in their company. I remember the occasion when Lord Derby received the freedom of the City of Liverpool. "Jim" was there, very much in evidence. On this occasion also, his comrades exhibited their chagrin at his conduct, even to the extent of forbidding him to appear. But this didn't upset "Jim"; not a bit! He even repudiated his comrades to his distinguished hearers, and told them that he "regarded it as a very considerable privilege to be there." Afterwards, he produced "The Riot Act," which was a success. Fidelity was rewarded!

* * *

According to "The Times" (16.3.14) The United States Express Co. has had to wind up its affairs and go out of business as a result of Government competition and interference. Some 15,000 of the company's employees will be affected. As the Government will naturally run its Express service under a system of the greatest economy, both in labour and everything else, it follows that only a small proportion, if any at all, of the jobless fifteen thousand will find work under the Government. This "nationalisation," whether it be brought about by buying an industry, or squeezing it out of existence, always has the same effect, namely—the augmentation of the unemployed army, with the consequent intensification of the competition of wage labour. These are cases of "improvement" that do not benefit the workers in the slightest; yet—my goodness—we find our well paid and well-fed "Labour" members and Trade Union officials, howling fit to burst their jugulars for "nationalisation," "Government ownership," "State interference," etc!

* * *

Speaking of Labour members, the following incident deserves to be placed on record: At a delegate conference of the Joint Labour Board to discuss the case of the South African deportees, a resolution was moved by Mr. R. Macdonald, calling upon the Home Government to compel the repeal of Clause 4 of the Indemnity Act. An amendment to the resolution that "failing satisfaction, the Labour Party turn the Government out at the earliest opportunity" was vigorously opposed by Macdonald, and on a card vote the amendment was defeated.

To anyone familiar with Labour Party history the reason will be quite clear. The Liberal Government are absolutely indispensable to the Labour Party. "In every fundamental question of home politics the Government has had no more consistent supporters than the members of the Labour Party, and that not because of any underground compromise, but simply because the Government happened to produce schemes which the Labour Party were bound to support, for the reason that they believed in them." ("Daily News & Leader, 28.1.14.) In other words, because they both stood for the same thing!

* * *

Instances are not wanted to prove the truth of the foregoing. The only difference is that between them they dispute as to who should take the credit for producing these schemes. Only a few days ago at the I.L.P. Conference at Bradford, Mr. Snowden remarked that it (the I.L.P.) had sown for others (meaning the Liberals) to reap. The Liberal Party was in power to-day because it was pledged to a programme of social reform. Astute Liberal politicians were putting before the country specious and attractive programmes, and advertising them to the electors in a vocabulary taken from Socialist leaders and Socialist propaganda. If this is so why not definitely declare for adhesion to Liberalism, seeing that the Liberals are already accomplishing what they (the I.L.P. and Labour Party) ostensibly set out to perform? If

"These gentlemen know as well as I do, and would admit it if they cleared their minds and tongues of cant, that there is no man in the

What further evidence is needed *now* to fix the responsibility for the use of soldiers in industrial disputes? The plain fact emerges that permission to have troops in use is given by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the memorable year of 1893 it was Mr. Balfour.

We desire to state that on page two of our leaflet "A Plain Statement," there is an unfortunate omission. The second line of the page should read: "And yet labour-power, applied to nature-given material, is the source of all wealth." The words italicised were omitted.

In the Cleansing Department alone they have discovered that they can dispense with three hundred men, and at the same time save some 21,000. And so on through every department. This emphasises the need for the workers to understand their position.

TOM SALA.

All sympathisers with the Party in the Birmingham district who require information as to joining, etc., should communicate with
J. JESPER, 74 MURDOCK ROAD,
HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM.
from whom, the "Socialist Standard" may also
be obtained.

Socialism, it is admitted by the S.P.G.B., can only bring about a transfer of the ownership and control of wealth by revolutionary methods. That is the one trait I admire in the S.P.G.B. They give a plain, straightforward interpretation of Socialism, and in this they differ from the I.L.P.ers, who exploit Socialism like some ecclesiastics exploit religion, using it as a cloak to achieve personal ends. This, by the way, is further evidence of the theoretical character of Socialism, for if it were scientific it would be possible for a party of opportunists to use it as an instrument for exploiting the masses. Any man can proclaim himself an adherent to the cause, and the rank and file have no means of testing his sincerity. The reason is that all

socialists as a rule evade this, as they do over fatal objections. Others, including an American Socialist, suggest that a parent of unwanted children should be compelled to work longer hours. This, to say the least, would be bad on the prolific parent. No one can evolve a practical organisation—political or industrial—dominated by Collectivist conditions, which do not of necessity impose restrictions to such no community would submit. What socialists fail to realise is that just as you can have no monetary aid from a State Exchequer and what is taken by the State from the people in the form of taxes, so you cannot obtain the State services or privileges more than

THE SOCIALIST REPLY.

the remark that Socialism is not supported by facts—is not scientific—is met by our opening of our case. Mr. Daw is welcome to disprove the facts therein or show how the deduction is not scientifically drawn. The statement that if Socialism “were sci-

tific it would be impossible to use it as an instrument for exploiting the masses," touches the depths of absurdity. Any schoolboy could repeat to Mr. Daw from his little primers the uses made of Science to "exploit the masses." The harnessing of the electric current to produce light so that the capitalists may carry on their robbery of the workers during night as well as day, does not detract in the slightest from the strictly scientific discovery and its application.

Robert Owen, as a matter of fact, continued preaching until he died. Quite hopelessly, it is true, because he was preaching to the capitalists to come and save the workers.

A brilliant flash of economics is attempted when we are told "the greater part of the coveted wealth which is set forth by Mr. Chiozza Money depends upon security and credit." It is just the reverse that is true. Credit is never given where no wealth exists. All that credit does is to arrange for existing wealth to be moved from point to point. And Kautsky was not dealing with this point at all—in fact, never mentioned it—when he wrote chapter IV. of one of the worst works he ever penned: "The Morrow of the Social Revolution," from which Mr. Daw is quoting. How this quotation "refutes" the fact of capitalists exploiting the workers Mr. Daw does not attempt to show.

Let us say at once, however, that we repudiate Kautsky on this as we have done on several other points. In the first place a very large portion of the wealth "put away for the extension of production" never figures in the Income Returns at all, but appears on Balance Sheets as Reserve Funds, etc. On other occasions it is used up during the year in these extensions and counted merely as an item of expense and never reaches the Income sphere. Of the wealth that comes under Income Returns huge sums are spent in barbaric orgies that would make the heroes of the Arabian Nights turn green with envy. £20,000 on a single dinner; silken coats and diamond studded collars for four-legged puppies; elaborately furnished suites of apartments for pet monkeys, with attendants to look after them; more spent by an individual in a single endeavour to look "smart" by some bizarre insanity than a hundred workers receive in a year. Where does it all come from and how much of it is used for "extension of production"? Even then there remains the fact that "every extension of production" under Capitalism means a corresponding extension of exploitation, so that far from "refuting," it strengthens our case.

In the next paragraph he says that poverty, like disease, "originates from physical causes," in lofty indifference to the fact that he had previously said it was due to the "innate selfishness of man, etc." Now it is because "population always increases up to the limits of the means of a bare subsistence." Later we are told "Socialists as a rule evade this, as they do other fatal objections." Firstly, it is not only not a "fatal" objection, it is not an objection at all. Secondly, no Socialist ever evades the point because he has not the slightest reason to do so.

The statement about increases of population is taken from the parson Malthus' dirty, lying apology for Capitalism called "On Population." What Mr. Daw is apparently ignorant of is the fact that Godwin—the Utopian Socialist—whom the book was written against, wrote a reply directly after the first edition appeared that tore up every shred of so-called argument Malthus had put forward. Though Malthus lived to edit four or five more editions and in doing so seriously altered his whole position, not once did he attempt to answer Godwin. Later on, Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," taking Godwin's work without acknowledgment as a basis, built up a case with the fuller information the intervening years supplied that crushed Malthus' book to powder.

We need only emphasize one point. Neither Malthus, nor anyone else, has ever produced a single title of evidence historical or otherwise, that "population always increases up to the limits of bare subsistence."

In every age since the break-up of the tribal communes rankineering has carried an idle luxurious class upon its back. That this could be possible proves there must have been a surplus above subsistence all the time.

We may hope that Mr. Daw in his next instalment will give our readers his first point against Socialism. Ed. Com.

THE LYING "DAILY HERALD."

Who has not heard of the "Daily Mail's" exclusive account of the massacre of the Legations at Peking by the Boxers; of the minute details of the awful carnage that didn't happen? Why was the "exclusive news" published?

Briefly, the object was to boom the "Daily Mail"—to foster its circulation. And that is the reason the Press to-day is so dangerous to the cause of the working class. The proprietors will publish anything if it pays. Crippen's confession that wasn't confessed; speeches by politicians which were never delivered; battles that were never fought and victories that were never won; Boers' blood-curdling brutalities toward natives, and voteless Uitlanders' unspeakable sufferings. Even the once stately threepenny "Times" showed its foresight and commercial keenness by printing during the height of the Irish campaign a series of letters over Parnell's signature which he did not write, but which were purchased from Piggott for a few thousand pounds.

This is the great lying Press, and when we have stated—as we often have—that the Socialist Standard is the only clean and reliable working-class paper, we have frequently been met with the cry: "What about the 'Daily Herald'?" The "Daily Herald"—the paper which, after declaring advertisements taboo because advertisers always dictated the policy of the paper, printed more advertisements than ever, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more.

Our answer to this question has invariably been that the "Daily Herald" was like the rest of the Press, with the added offensiveness of its Socialist pretences to make it worse.

Just take one example. Larkin has been very widely boomed, praised, and slobbered over by the "Daily Herald" and Syndicalists and Labourites generally. To make a meeting pay it has only been necessary to bring Larkin there, just as, earlier, Victor Grayson was the "star turn" who would assure a "full house." Hence, while Larkinism lasts the "Daily Herald" means to exploit it.

Mr. Asquith, or, as he is fondly known to students of history, Lord Asquith of Featherstone, elected to contest East Fife again as a result of his taking the office of War Minister.

The question in many minds was, would the Prime Minister be allowed a walk-over, and among certain elements, will the man responsible for those two graves in Featherstone Churchyard be allowed to go scot free back to Parliament.

On the morning of April 1st, however, the flaring headlines of the "Daily Herald" met the gaze of passers by: "Larkin for East Fife." "To beard Asquith in his own den." "Official Statement." "If Tories ready to shirk a fight Jim is ready for the fray." Such were the heavily leaded lines which abstracted the pence from working-class pockets.

The "Daily Herald" went on to say: "The announcement was made yesterday afternoon when he [Larkin] arrived in Dublin from England. Later an official announcement from Liberty Hall Dublin, Mr. Larkin's headquarters, confirmed the statement that Mr. Larkin will be a candidate in the forthcoming bye election in East Fife. He starts from Dublin for the constituency at once."

In the body of the paper we were informed: "Intense interest was taken in the statement from London that Jim Larkin had decided to stand, and there is every prospect of an exciting contest, as a result of which Mr. Asquith may be easily 'outed.'"

In the leading article much space is devoted to the "irony" of the situation that finds Mr. Larkin fighting Asquith in East Fife after Asquith had placed him in prison. The leader winds up thus:

"More power to Jim Larkin. In the political as in the industrial arena he is thorough-going and loves to tackle the biggest enemy in sight."

The day following this leader the lying paper published a special cartoon on its front page,

showing election posters bearing the words: Vote for Larkin.

The scare head-lines again extracted the half-pence from Lansbury's dupes. "Larkin will surely fight," they announced, and then they went on to talk about his prospects. To add piquancy to the paper a notice was printed boldly across it, thus: "What to ask Asquith. Don't give him a single vote TILL he answers these questions!" Then follow certain silly questions for an intelligent worker to ask.

Now one might think from all this that there was to be a fight in East Fife and that Mr. Jim Larkin was to be the anti-Liberal champion. After such "authoritative" news, of course, it was only to be expected. But once again it was only the sensational lies of the muck-heap Press struggling to keep up a circulation. Now let us prove it.

Turning to Larkin's own newspaper, "The Irish Worker," for the same week (dated April 4th), we find a leading article, a column and a half in length on the matter of East Fife. The whole of this is written in a vein of fierce condemnation of the lying Press for printing such downright lies as that Larkin was standing for East Fife.

Such phrases as "brazen-faced monstrosities," "creatures paid at so much a line," are used against those who issued the election news. We read on as follows: "He [Larkin] has never had any intention of fighting East Fife, never thought of Fife . . . He does not bother about Parliamentary action; has no time to waste at present about elections; he thinks that politics is a dirty game and the present politicians are dirtier than the game they play at, and rather admires sanguinary Asquith for his game of bluff," etc.

Is further proof required of how low the "Daily Herald" is? Is it necessary to adduce other evidence of the dirty and lying nature of this emulator of the Yellow Press? We venture to ask the nominal editor of the journal in question, Mr. George Lansbury, for an explanation of such brazen lying. Of course we do not expect to get one. Mr. Lansbury, if we are to believe the deposed editor, is simply the nominee of the wealthy supporters of the paper.

We know Mr. Lansbury. A little while since he stated at Bow Baths that the S.P.G.B. was financed by the rich, but he never had the courage to admit his "mistake" when, in reply to our official challenge, he failed to produce any evidence. We have memories of Lansbury in the old S.D.F. and his fine power of handling the truth cautiously. But as it is said that "While the lamp holds out to burn, the vilest sinner may return," it is open to Mr. Lansbury even now to take his courage in both hands and come forward and explain that lie in his paper which is just about the limit of lies.

A. K.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

RECEIVED—
"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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SOCIAL REFORM, OLD OR NEW.

In one of his recent utterances the leader of the Tory Party said that political power was absolutely in the hands of the working class, a condition that lent itself as a field for the demagogue. If Mr. Lloyd George and his party could persuade the working class that they were the friends of the poor, they might remain in office indefinitely. The condition of the working class being the same under either administration, it matters nothing to them which party is in office; but the fact remains that the Chancellor has an enormous following of workers who fervently and devoutly believe him to be the embodiment of progress, the friend of the workers, who understands their troubles and devises schemes to bleed vested interests for their benefit.

When these reforms are examined, they are easily seen to be mere contrivances in collective economy on behalf of the class he represents. The Chancellor himself does not attempt to conceal this fact. The frequency and vehemence with which he advertises it reveals what is his estimate of working class intelligence. For in many a speech he quite openly reassures his class of his loyalty to them, add demonstrates, in their own every-day business language, the effectiveness of his deep laid schemes to wring yet more profit from the working class. What other construction is it possible to place on the following from his preface to "Dr. H. A. Walters' Exposition of Recent British Social Legislation"?

"No attitude could be more short-sighted, or more paralyzing in its influence upon social policy, than that of the man who shrinks at the immediate cost of great social reforms which aim at increasing the vigour and efficiency of the millions by whom the country's material wealth is produced."

If the vigour and efficiency of the working class is increased, so too is unemployment and competition. It is sheer humbug, therefore, to say that such legislation benefits the working class as well as the employers. He claims to be giving something to the workers but assures his class that like "corn thrown upon the waters it will be returned to them a hundred-fold after many days." That is the essence and meaning of all legislation on the lines of ninepence for fourpence.

This is the nature of all the reforms instituted by the executive of the capitalist class—"putting capital into health" is the Chancellor's expression. Collective capital is expended through Government departments, with the object of placing at the disposal of individual capitalists an improved commodity on the labour market—workers whose labour will bear richer fruit, in the shape of surplus value. In other words, fuller and more complete exploitation. How do the exploited benefit?

We are told the old methods of social reform, like the poor law, were merely palliative, while the new method, like the Insurance Act, is preventive as well as palliative. The lie should be apparent, for if the working class, after the reform, produce more wealth for less wages, or for the same sum total of wages, than before, then instead of being preventive of poverty, it is productive of more poverty.

The followers of the Chancellor who have been emphasising in the Press the "economy of higher wages for agriculture," not only in the articles, but in the title itself, admit that such reforms operate against the working class; or they fail to understand the meaning of economy. Harold Begbie, a writer who imitates the extravagant phraseology of the Chancellor in the cocoa Press, slobbers about poverty and unemployment, and the hopeless congestion of London streets. He then advocates a central clearing house for railways, which would enable the companies to economise to the extent of forty millions annually. Transport would be cheaper and the cost of living reduced, he says.

But cause and effect follow each other eternally, though politicians stop where it suits their argument. The workers as commodities are weighed in capitalist scales, according to capitalist standards and ideals, on the labour market. Supply and demand always operate against them, and when their cost of production

or cost of living falls their wages fall likewise.

The workers of this country had practical experience of this truth when Free Trade was established. The Cobdenites, like their modern prototypes, were all for cheapening the foot of the people—only, as Marx pointed out, that they might be supplied with cheaper labour power. The wages of the working class were reduced fourteen per cent. in commemoration of the establishment of that beneficent and progressive measure.

The frequency with which efficiency is being advocated in the Press and on the platform, makes its frequent exposure necessary. Neither by reducing the cost of living nor by increasing the national share of the world's market can it assist the workers. In the latter case the working class of England, if insufficient to overstock the labour market, can be augmented from abroad. Labour power is carried by its owners to the place where it is in demand; and the executive of the capitalist class in each country adopt measures to facilitate its passage, in the same way that they increase its productivity.

The old methods of social reform—so called—never touched the fringe of the poverty problem (no problem at all, by the way, because it exists in the midst of plenty). Blankets, coals, and doles only served to prolong misery here and there. The new method, heralded with false sentiment and yet claiming to be essentially business-like and practical, increases the total sum of poverty. Old or new, Tory, Liberal, or Labour, all are designed solely to stem the tide of revolution. Lloyd George and all his satellites may warble their sentimental love song to the workers, wooing them for their votes, but all the crowd of political pimps and touts, philanthropists and social reformers of every method, though they pipe humanitarianism till they choke, have only one sentiment for the workers—contempt. Mr. Bonar Law says that the Chancellor "is not altogether insincere," but his action in raising the load line of ships is sufficient refutation of that statement.

"Social reform is the antidote to revolution par excellence," and no political sect shouts louder for the antidote than does the fraudulent Labour Party. The S.D.P. claimed that every reform advocated to-day by Liberals was on their programme years ago. When they were absorbed by the B.S.P., they no longer limited themselves to those on their membership card, and every member of the Party—like the members of the Church Socialist League—is free to advocate any and every reform that suits his voice, and will help him to the achievement of his ambition.

"Every party is now committed to social reform," said Mr. Philip Snowden, and for what purpose we have shown. Is it to be supposed that the class that lives by robbery will forego even a fraction of their wealth or privilege, unless compelled to do so? Can anyone imagine a class revelling in luxury and vice, and that has so lived for centuries, voluntarily conceding to the class they rob any reform that would diminish their helplessness?

There is no record in history of any ruling class, oligarchy, or monarchy, making any concession to a subject class, unless under compulsion. The nature of the capitalist class is the same as all previous ruling classes, utterly selfish and desirous of conserving its position.

"A State without the means of some change is without the means of its own conservation," wrote Burke. That is the reason why every party—with the exception of the S.P.G.B.—is now committed to social reform. Capitalist society has reached that stage in its development where the vast majority have no real interest in conserving it. Though the knowledge they require is within their reach, they only partially realise the possibility of successful revolution.

The labour unrest, so-called, is the symptom that reminds the cute politician of Burke's admonition and warns him that some change is necessary. But what change? Obviously the fundamentals of the system must not be tampered with. An Insurance Act that would really insure the workers against unemployment, or a Right to Work Bill in the real sense, is out of the question, because there would no longer be a hunger whip to drive them into the factories

and mines, or those other places where the workers are robbed of the results of their labour.

There are no reforms possible or likely of application under Capitalism, that can improve the condition of the working class. Moreover, it is but adding insult to injury for the capitalist class or their representatives to promise even real reforms for the improvement of working-class conditions. When the working class wake up they will see that no class or section possesses the power to experiment over their heads either for or against them. They will use the political power which Mr. Bonar Law says they possess to control the forces that stand between them and the means of life. Knowing, they will cease to be the dupes of either sentimental or practical reformers.

F. F.

THE SOFT ANSWER.

(TO THE EDITOR.)

Dear Sir,—I should be pleased if you would answer this question:

That political power, being always the prerogative of the possessors of economic power, the proletariat, in order to achieve their emancipation, must first capture the sources of economic revenue, when political sovereignty will follow as a matter of evolution. This can only be done by an organisation such as Industrial Unionism. Therefore the S.P.G.B. principles are useless to the working class.

I hope the above is intelligible, and that the S.P.G.B. will answer in the same way, and not in that sarcastic, superior, you-are-a-liar style which is customary with them.

Yours, FRED BROWN.

As is so often the case with defenders of Industrial Unionism, our correspondent uses an incorrect phrase and then builds up a case on it.

So far from true is it that political power is "always the prerogative of the possessors of economic power," that historical evidence shows that economic power has had little or no existence till those in possession of the means of production had conquered political power—the real power in every case.

Merchants and traders, producers and distributors, were for centuries under the control of those possessing political power, and remained slaves to the latter until they conquered the political machinery, and thus came into possession of power themselves. (See "S.S." for May, 1909.)

And then we have the reiteration of the old, exploded fallacy that Industrial Unionism can "capture the sources of economic revenue!"

Numberless are the occasions upon which we have asked how the Industrial Union can do this, but up to the present no answer has been forthcoming.

While the capitalist class dominate the fighting forces through their control of political power, they can easily defeat any attempt of the Industrial Union to take possession of the means of production. Hence the principles of the S.P.G.B. are the only correct guide to working-class emancipation.

J. F.

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

A Central Economic Class has been started at the Head Office, and intending students are urged to attend every Thursday evening at 8. The Class Struggle is on—be ye prepared!

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S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MAY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	3rd.	10th.	17th.	24th.	31st.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 A. Barker	E. Lake	R. Reynolds	A. Wallis	S. Blake
Boxmoor, Heath Park	7.30 A. Sadd	H. Joy	J. Ward	C. Baggett	J. Le Carte
Clapham Common	T. Wilks	W. Thorne	J. Fitzgerald	T. Wilks	J. G. Stone
Clapton, N.E., Kensington Rd.	3.30 A. Sadd	C. Baggett	A. Anderson	J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30 C. Elliott	G. Seech	A. Cox	T. W. Lobb	A. Wallis
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. W. Pearson	J. Ward	J. Wray	A. Bays	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30 H. Joy	J. G. Stone	C. Baggett	A. Anderson	A. Kohn
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 J. Ward	S. Blake	A. Bays	A. Jacobs	H. King
Ilford (Station)	7.30 F. Vickers	A. L. Cox	A. Sadd	J. Le Carte	G. Seech
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 L. Lytton	B. Young	T. W. Lobb	J. Wray	C. Parker
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 A. Wallis	H. Coopers	S. Blake	B. Young	E. Lake
Marylebone, Salisbury Rd., Lussell Grove	11.30 H. King	R. Reynolds	L. Lytton	G. Seech	T. W. Lobb
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 R. Bruce	C. Parker	H. King	A. Cox	E. Fairbrother
Parliament Hill	11.30 G. Seech	E. Fairbrother	A. Sadd	J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker
Peckham Triangle	11.30 E. Elliott	C. Elliott	E. Lake	S. Blake	H. Cooper
Teotting Broadway	11.30 R. Reynolds	R. Bruce	G. Seech	E. Lake	J. Wray
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	7.30 H. Cooper	A. Sadd	A. Barker	C. Elliott	A. Bays
Victoria Park	11.30 S. Blake	A. Barker	H. Cooper	R. Bruce	R. Reynolds
Waltham Green Church	7.30 C. Baggett	A. Wallis	H. Joy	E. Fairbrother	J. Ward
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	7.30 A. Bays	A. Anderson	A. Wallis	H. Joy	C. Baggett
Watford, Market Place	4.0 A. Jacobs	T. W. Lobb	A. Jacobs	H. Cooper	A. Jacobs
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Le Carte	C. Elliott	A. Barker	R. Bruce
	7.30 B. Young	L. Lytton	A. W. Pearson	J. Ward	B. Young
	7.30 W. Thorne	J. Fitzgerald	B. Wilks	A. Sadd	W. Thorne
	11.30 A. Hoskyns	F. W. Stearn	J. Wray	R. Reynolds	B. Young
	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Bays	E. Fairbrother	F. Vickers	H. Joy

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Elthorne-rd., Highgate, N.
 Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Battersea, Mossbury-rd., Lavender-hill, 8. Chelsea, World's End, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Teotting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30. Stoke Newington, Palantine-rd., 8. Harrow, St. Ann's Rd., Greenhill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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Branch business 1st and 3rd Mons., public discussion other Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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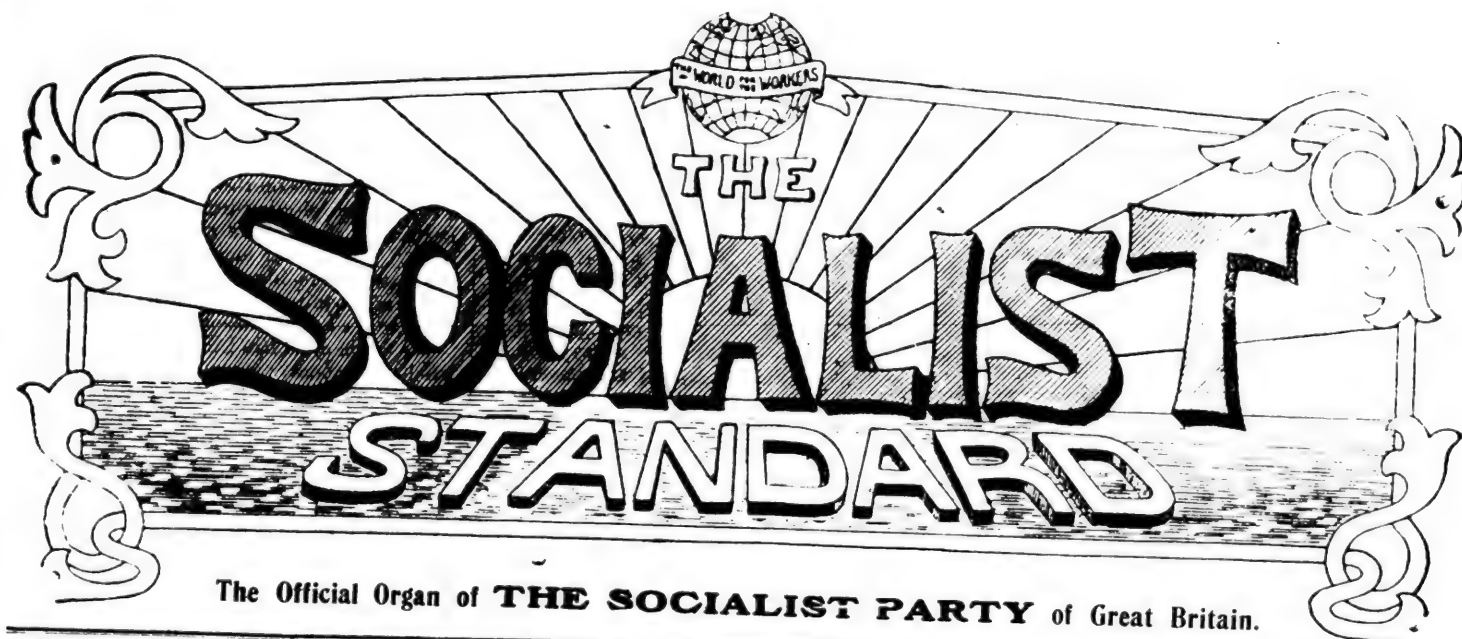
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No. 118. Vol. 10.]

LONDON, JUNE, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE PARTY SYSTEM.

AND WHY THE WORKERS RECEIVED THE FRANCHISE.

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

The Necessity for the Party System.

The frequency with which working-class questions are brought before Parliament to-day goes far to prove this scientific truth, so far as its political application is concerned. Industrial questions and disputes occupy an increasing amount of Parliamentary time. Working-class problems as they affect the capitalist, become more insistent and call for more attention from their representatives on the executive body. How to deal with the growing "unrest" is fast becoming the chief problem before Parliament, and mere party questions sink into insignificance beside it.

The inability of politicians to work up issues that will obscure the line of cleavage between the two classes in society, becomes more apparent daily.

Without friction the party system must necessarily be a failure. For although every party question ends in a compromise, both sides carry on the sham fight as though complete victory were of vital importance to them. The working class have to be deluded into the belief that the fight is real, and that they are concerned in it. A compromise effected, a new Act or Budget passed, without being first staged, without the "exciting scenes, noisy incidents and protracted debates," would be an opportunity lost of deluding the workers. Without friction and agitation the workers cannot be divided to ensure their united support for capitalism—but one of the many inherent contradictions of capitalist society.

"Politics," says Edward Jenks, "is the business of government." In other words, politics is the art of keeping a slave class in subjection.

This business of government is really more of an art than most people imagine. The most arbitrary rulers of the Middle Ages could not rule exactly as they chose. Slaves, no matter how docile, hold fast to ideas and customs which their rulers are, in the main, compelled to recognise.

Increasing Difficulties of the Capitalist Class.

When a system advances toward its disintegration, the forces encountered by the ruling class demand greater cunning, resource, and courage to cope with them—just the qualities they have allowed to decay while revelling in fancied security. The revolution of the capitalist class in England and France against the

monarchy and nobility found the latter muddled and weak—the result of generations of vice and debauchery.

In like manner, the capitalist class to-day cannot supply the brains to carry on the business of government. They have to breed or encourage professional politicians from the class beneath them. The days of their "directing" ability" passed with the manufacturing period. The introduction of power-driven machinery, and the growth of limited companies, stripped them of their last economic function, and left them without the necessity to struggle. That they are forced to requisition fresh blood from outside their class to fight against the awakening working class proclaims the rapid progress of their senile decay.

The ruling class of our day is a parasitic organism devouring the substance produced by the working class. It is an organism within an organism, and is compelled to adapt itself to its surroundings. It rules, and yet is governed by its environment, and restricted by the limitations of the system it imposes, and the principles it is compelled to adopt.

How the capitalist class were compelled to confer the franchise, and must continually extend it, is shown by the position in Russia during the past few years, where the constitutional question is not even yet fought out. There is no pretence of giving the workers the vote because it is their right, or because it will benefit them. It is given merely because it means an improved form of government. M. Shingareff in the Budget debate said: "Our Government is strangely opposing itself to the all-powerful spirit of the times. It has no organic union with the country, and with its own hands is digging an abyss between the population and the administration."

Stability is the object to be attained, and the capitalists of Russia look with envy on the English form of government because it possesses that quality in a greater degree than their own government by an oligarchy.

Those Ministers and politicians here who realise the value of the party system, speak their minds when it is in any way threatened. When, in 1910, a Liberal finance bill was in danger of mutilation by the House of Lords, Mr. Lloyd George told the Opposition they were not playing the game, and that "If the party system were destroyed, the class line must become the line of demarcation."

Again, in 1909 he said: "Is it not a real advantage to the country that there should be two great parties, each capable in turn of providing responsible administration for the service of the Crown? How much better our system of government, as worked upon this balance,

than in those countries where there is a permanent governing class, with all those interests of wealth and privilege massed around them, keeping the rest of their fellow-countrymen in sullen subjection by force of arms."

Lord Haldane, at the Royal Academy Banquet, referred to the growing education of the working class and the danger of allowing affairs to drift: the crisis should be forestalled by broadening the basis of the Constitution so as to give it stability.

How our masters yearn for stability as their "cheap and nasty" system evolves! But the sands are shifting beneath their feet—the Rock of Ages is not only cleft, but barren.

Party politics are like the murky fluid ejected by certain denizens of the deep—they only conceal for a time. When capitalist interests are threatened by the workers both parties reveal themselves as one class.

That one man should have formulated the principles for both sides in the Parliamentary game is significant, and strengthens the conviction that it is but a game—mutually arranged—after all.

Edmund Burke, says Trevelyan, quoting from "Moore's Life of Sheridan," "has left behind him two separate and distinct armouries of opinion, from which both Whig and Tory may furnish themselves with weapons, the most splendid, if not the most highly tempered, that ever genius and eloquence have condescended to bequeath to party."

His genius was needed. Capitalist domination was scarcely established before it was in difficulties; Burke, according to Lecky, was its saviour. In vol. III, "History of the Eighteenth Century" he says: "It was necessary, in the face of the mass of discontent which was smoldering in the nation, and of the growing corruption and inefficiency of Parliament, that each party should have a distinct line of policy. As time went on, these lines, as we shall see, became clearer, and the writings of Burke probably contributed more than any other single influence to define them."

An Old Fraud with a New Face.

It is the continual boast of modern politicians that we live in a democratic State. When they say "we" they mean, of course, the ruling class. They see to it that neither King, lords, nor demagogues filch their "democratic" rights. But the so-called democracy conferred on the working class is not a semblance even of the real thing. Two thousand years ago Athens boasted in similar fashion of the democratic State, and the chief principle of the Athenians was that while there existed one man in the community who suffered injustice through the operation of the

State laws, the others should not rest until his wrongs had been righted. An injury to one held possibilities of injury to all. But beneath this free and high-principled class was another class, chattel-slaves to them, who had no rights but what were willed to them by their owners.

This same description applies to the working class of to-day. They are driven into the workshops of the capitalist by hunger. They must sell their labour-power for what it costs them to live. When the capitalist has no market for the products of their labour they are driven out again—to starve. The over-crowded labour market is the spur to increased activity inside the workshops; greater concentration and efficiency are called for by the masters and easily obtained. Competition and unemployment haunt the modern worker like a nightmare, and every year bring him more helplessly under the control of the capitalist, who dictates all the hum-drum details that go to make up the wage slave's wretched existence.

Liberal or Tory—what a choice for those who are robbed by both alike and left poor under either! This, they say, is democracy! It is the limit in impudence; the last word in barefaced hypocrisy. "Millions of workers are stripped of everything but the bare necessities of life," says Winston Churchill; of what use is a vote to these, when they can only give it back to those who gave it them—the capitalists?

The vote they were compelled to give, though they made a virtue of necessity and said they gave it because they loved the principles of democracy. But no matter how they got them, the workers have far more votes than their masters. With the knowledge of their slave-position and the courage to organise, these votes can be used as the means to their emancipation. The capitalist class cannot abjure what they have established. The vote was given to secure their own domination; if they discard it they lose control and have no sanction to govern.

By constitutional methods the workers can win their freedom; they have no need to go outside the Constitution until they finally destroy it. So the party system together with the franchise—established because they promised stability—pave the way for working-class victory.

Real democracy will come with Socialism: when the game of party bluff has been played for the last time to unresponsive workers—when the latter are busy with their own interests, determined to enjoy the full results of their labour. The party system will be exposed as a fraud, consciously practised by the ruling class in their own interest. Its records will go down to posterity as curiosities, and future generations may read them and marvel that a working class, sunk in poverty and anarchy, could forget, even for a moment, their own wretchedness, while they voted this way or that on questions that concerned their masters alone. F. F.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

LLOYD George's Budget certainly got the welcome he knew it would get from the "Labour" movement. The only feature to be regretted, from their point of view, is the forgetfulness of the Chancellor to acknowledge its source. Apart from that, it is hailed as being "on the right lines," "a step on the way," etc. Although Mr. Lloyd George doesn't see his way clear to "relieve the working classes of the amount of taxation which they were called upon to bear" (vide Mr. Philip Snowden), it yet was comforting to know that a beginning was to be made in the way of doing something to relieve the heavy burden on local rates!

On somewhat similar lines is the election manifesto of Mr. J. A. Martin, Labour candidate for N.E. Derbyshire. He goes "straight for the abolition of food taxes." He favours also the "nationalisation of the mines and railways, which would not only cheapen coal and travel, but [mark this] provide revenue for the Exchequer!"

As if that was not enough to stamp Mr. Martin as a full-blown Liberal, he proceeds to give us the full Liberal programme with all its trimmings. He believes in Free Trade, Home Rule, and Land Reform—in fact, all that a respectable Liberal stands for. Strangely enough, he is opposed by another Liberal candidate. This, I believe, is due to some misunderstanding which has caused a split in the "Progressive forces." Mr. Martin's candidature is endorsed by the Miners' Federation and the Labour Party. Though he was standing with the assent of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, yet a large proportion of delegates at the adoption of the orthodox Liberal were members of that body. I don't blame them: they couldn't tell 't'other from which.

The Labour election agent, Mr. A. Peters, declares that the miners have spent £10,000 within the last few years in order to maintain their position in the county. Can you wonder?

One thing stands out clear in the diverse reports that reach us concerning the trouble in Mexico. That is that both General Huerta and General Carranza have given assurances that oil wells shall be protected during the fighting. Why? Because these wells are chiefly the cause of the trouble. Ask Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Trust. Ask any of the greedy sharks in this country whose eyes are glued on Mexico. Huerta, representing Mexican interests, wants to preserve the oil wells for Mexico; Carranza, representing British and American capitalists, wants them for his masters.

Mexico is one of the richest mineral countries in the world—that is why all the world wants it. When oil was discovered during the Diaz régime, it was not long before the far-off nostrils of the capitalist wolves scented it. Then commenced the trouble. Diaz wouldn't "sell out," so means were adopted to make him "get out." His successor looks like traversing the same road. Thus are the "rights" of capital vindicated.

Smug respectability, sitting at home in England, wonders what it is all about. "Why the devil don't these fellows set to work instead of fighting each other, and let us earn our dividends? This sort of thing lowers the rate, don't you know!"

Yes, we know. In Colorado, for instance, it is lowering the rate—of the population. They call it "Rockefeller's war." It is a typical industrial war—all one-sided. The capitalists have the full force of the country at their disposal. The miners—only dogged determination and what few arms they are able to get hold of. Men, women, and children have been shot or sabred that shareholders may have their dividends. Women and children have had to tramp the streets because their homes had been burned over their heads, in order that investors should have a "fair return" on their capital. And we are told there is no class war!

May Day in this country seems to have re-

solved itself into a sort of annual rounding-up of recalcitrant and other sheep, into the Labour fold. As usual, the Labour Party were out in full force. Everywhere the same note was struck—emphasis on the importance of joining a trade union, electing leaders, sending them to Parliament, but, above all, being "loyal" to them. You see, the more members the bigger the unions; the bigger the unions the more "leaders" required, and incidentally, the more soft jobs for the professional spongers.

We, on the other hand, don't believe in making a hullabaloo once every twelve months. Instead, we engage in a steady, persistent propaganda of Socialist principles on every day in the year. One can understand these job-hunters not liking us and our work. Whereas they believe in the retention of the capitalist system, we work for its abolition. Its abolition would put them out of business.

Old Age Pensions have proved a grand thing—for the capitalists. Recent returns relating to pauperism in England and Wales issued by the Local Government Board show that since 1909 there has been a decrease of more than 200,000. That this is due in a large measure to the introduction of Old Age Pensions is proved by the fact that in 1906 the number of paupers over 70 years of age was 229,474, whereas at the beginning of 1913 the number had fallen to 56,770.

This means that whilst formerly it cost about 13s. 8d. per head to keep paupers inside a workhouse, they can now get them completely off their hands for the modest sum of five shillings. On this the pensioners have to subsist as best they can—usually with assistance from friends and relations, thus contributing directly to the further impoverishment of those who are already poor.

Old Age Pensions having fulfilled their mission of getting the aged people off the hands of the capitalists, the Poor Law authorities are now looking round for some device to rid themselves of those under 70. The Lambeth Board of Guardians have, so far, been the most successful. The experiment they tried was to send the inmates to look for work! All they had to do was to go out and get a job, come back for the missus and kids, and—there you are! Good-bye! Simple, isn't it? At this rate there soon won't be any Poor Law for Mr. Sidney Webb to worry about.

Here is an example of the effect the above system has upon people who try to remain outside the Poor Law. It was brought to light at a Westminster inquest recently, and showed the hopeless struggle of an aged couple who tried to live on 12s. a week, of which 4s. 6d. had to go for rent. The victim of this hellish system was Mary Ann Russell, aged 72, of Pimlico, who was found with her throat cut.

Her husband, a grey-haired labourer of 67, said he had been out of work for thirteen weeks, and his wife had been much depressed in consequence. Their income consisted of 7s. from his National Insurance payments (which expired the week after the inquest) and 5s. her Old Age Pension. They owed rent, and it was more than the old lady could face. "We lived very happily together, sir," said the old man, with tears streaming down his face, "but it's too much to bear."

TOM SALA.

BIRMINGHAM.

All sympathisers with the Party in the Birmingham district who require information as to joining, etc., should communicate with J. JESPER, 74 MURDOCK ROAD, HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD
EVERY SUNDAY as under:
MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.,
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT 7.30 p.m.

A USEFUL VOLUME REVIEWED.

"Labour in Irish History." By James Connolly. Paper covers, 1s. net. Published by Maunsel & Co., Ltd., 96, Mid Abbey St., Dublin.

Home Rule and Carsonism are filling the columns of newspapers. Wild and furious threats, accompanied by more or less genuine spasms of gun-running, are thrown out as to what will happen if Home Rule is established, and thousands of workers both in England and Ireland are quite excited as to the result of the conflict.

At such a time much good may be done by drawing attention to certain historical evidences for the fundamental facts so important for the workers' consideration.

And this book will largely help in such a desirable end.

Written by one who has made some study of the Marxian analysis of society, it cuts through the sham superficialities of the struggle between Home Ruler and Ulsterite, Catholic and Protestant, and shows how in Ireland, as everywhere else where classes exist, the real fight, the fundamental antagonism, is between those who own the means of life and those who have nothing but the sale of their labour-power to depend upon for an existence.

The development of the worker in Ireland is traced from the days of the Williamite wars to the present day, after a short account has been given of the previous conditions.

A particularly useful part of the book, in face of the many romances dealing with the time, is the description of the period preceding and covering the "Act of Union" between England and Ireland. The analysis of the various "revolutionary" leaders and their movements, with the exposure of frauds like Grattan, Flood, and O'Connell, is well worthy of study. Above all the fear and hatred of the working class by the wealth owners is shown by their slimy scheming to disarm the volunteers of that time.

These consisted of three sections—the Liberty Corps—working class; the Merchants' Corps—capitalist class; and the Lawyers' Corps—members of the legal profession.

As the author puts it: "The Government [Irish Government bear in mind] had to use force to seize the arms of the working men, but the capitalists gave up theirs secretly as the result of a private bargain . . . and the lawyers privately handed their guns over to the enemies of the people."

"The working men fought, the capitalists sold out, and the lawyers bluffed." (p. 58.)

An interesting account of a co-operative colony founded at Ralahine, County Clare, in 1831 is given, but the reader will tend to gather the impression that it is by such means the workers will emancipate themselves—an impression distinctly reactionary in face of the growth of the Social forces and the power needed for their economic manipulation.

There is one part of the work, however, to which distinct exception can be taken. This is the section dealing with the first Irish Socialist. One is here curiously reminded of the same attitude taken up by Miss Beatrice Potter (now Mrs. Sidney Webb) in her book on "Co-operation."

That attitude is one of suggesting a thing without actually saying it.

The author claims that the great forerunner of Marx—standing between the Utopians and the latter—was an Irishman named William Thompson, who, among numerous notable statements, laid bare the source of value in his work entitled, "An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth most conducive to Human Happiness," etc., published 1824, where it is laid down that all labour can be reduced to unskilled labour of the average kind at a given time.

Miss Potter says Marx took his notion of "homogeneous human labour" from Thompson and incorporated it in "Capital."

The author says "In the English speaking world the work of this Irish thinker is practically unknown, but on the Continent of Europe his position has long been established" (p. 115).

Now what is common to both Connolly and Miss Potter is the curious fact that neither of them state who established Thompson's position

and made him known on the Continent. The uninstructed reader may learn with surprise that the person responsible was—Karl Marx!

Many years ago Dr. Aveling pointed out in a little book called "Darwin Made Easy," that the various "objections" by ignorant Christians and parsons to Darwin's work were all first formulated by Darwin himself in the "Origin of Species," and no opponent had ever brought forward any other. So with Marx. All the opponents of Marx who are so loud in their claims to have discovered "forerunners" of his work and ideas are all of them—German, English and Irish alike—indebted to Marx, who first discovered and gave full credit to them in his various works, particularly in the "Poverty of Philosophy" and the "Critique of Political Economy."

And among others he points out that Benjamin Franklin had already in 1721 stumbled on the secret of undifferentiated labour as the source of value, though he (Franklin) did not work the idea out to any extent.

However, it is the fashion to day among the shallow critics of scientific Socialism who are unable to refute the case or show a flaw in the arguments of Marx to pretend to demolish that genius by finding someone who "anticipated" him, and keeping "gradely dark" the fact that the very person they are indebted to for such discovery is Marx himself. J. F.

THE NEED FOR ACTION.

THERE are quite a number of people claiming to agree with the principles of Socialism who imagine that all that is necessary for the cause is to understand something of the subject, to get some idea of the future state of society, and then patiently wait for the day of emancipation to arrive.

Some are of the opinion that it is quite unnecessary to preach Socialism, believing that the purely economic conditions alone will suffice to convert the working class to our doctrines. They arrive at this erroneous conclusion from the fact that the material conditions ultimately determine the ideas prevalent in society.

But economic conditions produced the electric railway and had each individual been left to discover that by stepping on to the "live" rail he would have been electrocuted the acquisition of his knowledge would undoubtedly have proved most disastrous to him. We therefore propagate the knowledge we have already acquired and so warn people of the dangers of electricity.

The present writer recently heard one who claims to be a Socialist lecturing under the auspices of the Secular Society, of whose principles he is a prominent platform exponent. He drew attention to the fact that an enormous amount of time and energy was being wasted in the discussion of religion, and claimed that if only people would discontinue these religious controversies they would have all that time to devote to other things. He referred to what he termed an "old chestnut" that was often put to him by Socialists: Why did he waste his time and energy lecturing for the Secular Society?—for even if the working class got the god idea out of their heads, and rejected religion as worthless, they would still have the master class to contend with, and the social evils confronting them; and they claimed he should devote his time to the propaganda of Socialism.

With those he did not agree and claimed to be doing good work for humanity by trying to eliminate the god idea from the minds of the people, thus preventing them from wasting their time in religious controversies, and leaving them time and energy for social improvements.

That the people who are now devoting so much time and energy in discussing these trivial religious questions are wasting their time is quite true. But simply showing people that they are on the wrong road does not necessarily put them on the right one. If there were only two roads from which to choose, then the position would not be difficult. But, unfortunately, there are many paths that may be taken, yet only one that leads in the right direction; and the chances are very remote that our mental

traveller will immediately alight on the right road, while dozens of political *cul de sacs* may be traversed and examined before our seeker after social salvation is fully convinced that the only way is in the path of Socialism. How many become weary in their search, and abandon the task in despair!

It behoves us, then, and all those who understand Socialism, to point the way and do our utmost to guide the seeker after true freedom along the path which we know to be right, for surely there is no better way of proving to people that they are wasting their time and energy plodding the wrong road than by convincing them that another is the only way.

Let us all, then, try and do SOMETHING, no matter how small that something may be, to enlighten our fellow workers. Everyone who understands Socialism can do something. If unable to address a meeting, take the chair, write an article for the official organ or publicly sell literature at propaganda meetings, then other means are open to him. He may know of some friend who has never read a copy of the Socialist Standard; let him, then, hand him a copy and extract from him a promise to read it; or he could leave a copy where it would be likely to be read. He may be in a position to assist financially, to quietly or openly distribute leaflets or handbills, or to advertise the useful pamphlets when opportunity affords.

There is not a single Socialist but could do something to assist in making another convert; and if this view was generally adopted and practised, then the membership of the organisation would be speedily doubled.

Let us try. H. A. Young.

THE CANADIAN "HOMESTEADER."

A REPLY TO W. SEARLE.

W. SEARLE writes from Sask., Canada, "I am a class conscious slave of the farm, having taken up a so called free homestead from the Government. . . . If there existed the least suspicion of 'justice' in the present system, the homesteader would be highly compensated instead of being charged a 'filing fee' for bringing 160 acres of 'God's green earth' under cultivation. . . . I should like your assistance in explaining the farmer's true position as a wage worker. I know that the farmer in selling his wheat sells it at its value. I would like to know in what particular manner he is being robbed."

The answer to this is quite simple. The farmer, in selling his wheat at its value, is not being robbed. The explanation of the (pioneer) farmer's "true position" is to be sought in our correspondent's remark that he should be compensated for bringing 160 acres of land into cultivation. In this country farmers are robbed by the landowner, for though a few are prosperous men, in general it pans out so that anything and everything the farmer may secure as the result of his own efforts, or may squeeze out of these he employs, goes to the parasite who owns the land he (the farmer) tills.

In our correspondent's case, however, the process is rather different, though the result is very much the same. The man who enters upon the proposition of a "free" homestead is robbed of opportunity. He is driven, through the monopoly in land, to apply his labour-power in such circumstances as render it impossible for it to be rewarded with the ordinary social rate of productivity. To sell his wheat and other produce at its value, therefore, by no means gives him adequate return for the enormous amount of labour which he in his particular circumstances, has been forced to embody in it. True, if the lonely years do not break his heart, and the Herculean labour does not break his health, and the extortions of a capitalist government do not bleed him to death, he may find himself, in the fulness of time, in possession of a freehold of considerable extent if of little value. It is only this hope, deferred until after years of arduous toil and lonely living, that extracts the "filing fee" from the homesteader's pocket for the benefit of a capitalist government, and induces him to slave unceasingly for the benefit of elevator companies and railway trusts. These get their picking, whatever befalls the victims they lure into the lonely West.

A. E. J.

Standard 1914

[illegible]

The first point to note, and one that over-
adows all else here, is that *it is not the capital-
who is the designer*. The latter is employed
do his portion, as the others are to do theirs.

EN PASSANT.

An editorial in the "Daily Sketch" of May 7th runs as follows: "But a more dangerous sort of interference with parental authority will be confirmed by the passing of the Defective and Epileptic Children Bill. Defective children (of the poor people) are to be sent to residential schools, and Mr. Josiah Wedgwood moved an amendment for the purpose of making it clear that such children should not be removed from their homes without the consent of their parents. The amendment was negatived by a decisive vote."

Leaflet No. 45 of the Anti-Socialist Union bears the following bright gem:

Infant Gatherer (who is the State Nurse existing under an impossible Socialist State): "I've called to take your baby to the State Children's Home."

Mother: "But you will let him say 'good-bye' to his father?"

Infant Gatherer: "Father! There are no fathers now. The State's his father."

It has often been pointed out to the intellectuals of the Anti-Socialist Union that the bogey they stick is not Socialism but State capitalism. But it is easy to apologise for not hearing after you have stuffed your ears.

To-day, under capitalism—"the best of all possible systems in the best of all possible worlds"—you must not be born without the State knowing; you must not "shuffle off this mortal coil" without the State being informed of the fact; if you are on the panel you cannot be ill without the State being aware of your malady. Under tyrannical Socialism the only added danger could be that the privacy of the bath-room might be invaded.

To turn from the Anti-Socialist Union to members of an Anti-Socialist Party, the appended statements are enlightening.

Mr. Philip Snowden, in the "Labour Leader" of April 30th: "If we take the Liberal Party at its best to-day and accept its professions at their apparent value, and if we compare its programme with that of a labour party which is not Socialist, then there is no doubt that Mr. Asquith's statement that the differences are trivial and unimportant represents the actual facts."

Mr. Jowett, in the "Labour Leader," April 16th: "On one occasion the Labour Party had declined to introduce an Unemployment motion because the Government had to be kept in office, and often it had been difficult to defend the votes which the Labour members had given."

Two minds with but a single thought; two mouths that bleat as one.

These extracts may be used as supporting an argument in re Philip sober. P. Snowden, "Labour Leader" 30.4.14: "The irony of Social Reform within the present economic order is that every reform which improves the health and intelligence of the workers benefits the capitalist still more."

The same Snowden—the summit of conceit—in the House of Commons (7.5.14), on Mr. L. George's Budget: "The taxes on the rich provided revenue to be used for social reform purposes and must economically benefit the landlord and the employing class."

Yet again, the same Philip, in the same speech: "If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was prepared to continue to use taxation not merely as a means of raising revenue but as a potent, if incomplete, method of social reform, he would be prepared to give him support."

There, what base knave dare deny that one Philip of Blackburn, is a Socialist. To all anti-Socialists he is a revolutionary of the most rabid type, because they do not understand Socialism.

—+—

This extract is not from an old file of the "Socialist Standard." Mr. Arnold White writes a weekly article for the "Daily Express" entitled "Looking Round." Sometimes he squints and sees "visions," yet on other occasions he sees things in their true perspective. In the issue of that organ of mal-education for 11.5.14, he says "Mr. Lloyd George's scheme to provide aid from taxation for the feeding of necessitous

school children appeals to warm hearts and soft heads. The plan is as old as Rome. To make the community help manufacturers to pay wages necessarily implied reduction of wages."

the limit to the fall of wages is automatically determined by the cost of bare maintenance of the labourer and his family. If the average subsistence rate of the lowest form of alum worker is £1 a week, and the average number of children is three, the labourer must be paid a pound a week, since he cannot exist on less. If, on the other hand, the State steps in and helps to feed the children of unorganised labourers, the cost of subsistence will be less. Being subjected to unrestricted competition, the labourer, if he can live on less than £1 a week, will take less." A Socialist could improve that very little.

Some people have heard of the London City Mission, a body, presumably of human beings, which held its 79th Annual Meeting on May 8th. During the course of the meeting, the Rev. T. S. Hutchison, M.A., must have felt relieved when he got the following off his chest: "Socialism, of a godless type, was said to be spreading rapidly among the working men, even to some extent among employees where the co-operative system had long existed, and where, but for the agitators, the men would be happy and contented. The result was the growth of discontent and unrest." Dear readers, please shudder to oblige our dearly beloved vicar. Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the columns of the "Times," that we, the feeble band, the few, are the cause of the great totality of wretchedness and discontent at present existent. Sir George Asquith is wrong when he attempts to settle strikes (in the masters' interest) by haggling over wages and hours of labour. How much could he not learn, would he only sit at the feet of this far seeing disciple of the Prince of Peace?

—+—

You have a working man earning a quid a week, and he is satisfied. His town house in Stepney and his country seat in Victoria Park provide delightful changes of scenery and atmosphere, guaranteed to revitalise any constitution accidentally undermined by the pure air of the sweat shop. So I could continue to describe the idyllic existence of the working man. To suggest any improvement would be to attempt to paint the lily. But stay, into the picture of contentment, slyly creeps the strife stirring Socialist. Without him all would be well. He can even surmount the protective barriers of co-operation and co-partnership. He seems all-powerful and he is of the godless type. If he believed in a god or worshipped a tram-ticket he might be tolerated. As he is he is anathema.

Christian, Ragtime "Reynolds" here comes in useful. In its issue for 1.2.14 it said: "We should have thought that no man capable of two consecutive minutes' thought still held the antiquated notion that strikes are due to the 'agitator.' The whole of the British unrest of the past three years has shown that the agitator is powerless where men have not genuine grievances."

The missionary's speech prompts me to ask what was the cause of discontent before the godless Socialism existed? I could continue with questions, but the harrowing of Hutchison is too pitiful to contemplate. Besides, I might trouble him and make him discontented. And I am a godless Socialist. Grrrr!

—+—

The manufacturer threw a belligerent chest. "Arrest 'em," he said. "If I had my way, I'd arrest every blighted Labour agitator."

A gaunt figure, with a skull in place of the head, rose exultantly. "Then arrest me," it cackled, capering. "I am the original stirrer up of those who do hard labour. I am the ancient breeder of discontent, the father of Socialists, the agitator of agitators. Arrest me."

"But who are you?"

"I am Hunger."

"Tut! tut!" said the manufacturer pleasantly. "Why should I arrest my best and chiefest Labour agent?"

Poor Hutch!

A. L. Cox.

It ain't only a barrier that wants pushing; the "Socialist Standard" for instance. Not 'arf.

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF COLONISATION.

SOME time ago the Bishop of Hull, speaking on the relation of Christianity to Social problems, referred to the decision of the Japanese people, not to make Christianity their national religion, and said:

"This was because the shrewd Japanese had known too much about the lives of professing Christians. During the time when the present Archbishop of York was labouring in Stepney, a Japanese traveller called upon him and asked to be put in the way of seeing the real inner life of the people of the East-end. The clergyman did not refuse, but he said he could only pray that the Japanese visitor might forget as soon as possible many of the things he saw. . . . The Japanese could not fail to perceive that as a people we were hopelessly divided, class against class . . . squalid poverty at the one end of the scale and stupid luxury at the other."

It would appear that even the Bishop felt that Christianity was not playing a very creditable part in the sordid tragedy of this much belauded civilisation, although we have no doubt that he would not publicly endorse the charge of the Socialist that religion is always to be found on the side, and, indeed, is the active ally of, the forces of oppression.

In the face of the hideousness and injustice of the social conditions obtaining in Christian countries—"the terrible social difficulties," as one eminent prelate said—the purpose of missionary societies, who go to great efforts and expend enormous sums in bringing this 20th Century civilisation to the "heathen," might well puzzle those who, although not Socialists, will readily agree that the conditions of existence in modern society not only leave much to be desired, but are in fact paradoxical in the extreme.

The all too apparent and ever increasing poverty of the great mass of the people, which means their shortage not only of those means, opportunities and healthful environment which afford culture and minister to a high development of one's physique and intellect—the only guarantee for the real enjoyment of life and therefore the road to happiness—but their shortage even of the barest and crudest necessities of existence, side by side with undisturbed abundance of all those things, or "unparalleled prosperity." The paradox of increasing insecurity and harder toil, owing, not as one might suspect, to the failure or misunderstanding of nature, or the difficulty of producing the means of subsistence, but in spite of or contrary to the continuous advance in understanding, mastering and utilising the forces of nature, and more insecurity and harder toil as the result of ever greater facilities to produce.

Neither of the above mentioned instances of glaring inconsistencies and cruel ironies, which could, of course, easily be multiplied, will be denied. Nor is there, so far as the non-Socialist is concerned, any remedy for, or any escape from, that condition of things. It is easy to get their admission that unemployment with all its attendant evils is inevitable, and that it exists side by side with excessive toil on the part of those "in work." It is common knowledge, "but cannot be altered," that overcrowding, slums, homeless and shelterless exist side by side with spacious, comfortable and healthy empty and half-empty houses; it is equally common knowledge, "but cannot be altered," that there is preposterous waste of all sorts of commodities side by side with the most pressing and bitter want. Foodstuffs, especially of easily deteriorating nature, such as vegetables, meat, fish, etc. are rotting and perishing in markets and stores in enormous quantities, while uncounted workers with their families are suffering the pangs of hunger. Fuel, such as coal for instance, is being uselessly destroyed to an incredible extent alone in keeping battle ships continually "prepared," while in cold days the lack of the same precious fuel accentuates the gloom and squalor of innumerable dreary habitations and causes sickness and death due to insufficient warmth.

Anyone reading, for example, the records of such institutions as the Salvation Army, or the

Church Army, Dr. Barnardo's "homes," etc., etc., the signposts of "civilisation," or their soul stirring appeals on behalf of the thousands of destitute men, women and children reduced to implore the humiliating, degrading and demoralising help of such charities; or anyone having perused the facts in Seebohm Rowntree's "Poverty: A Study of Town Life," or "How the Labourer Lives," or Sir Charles Booth's "The Life and Labour of the People of London," or Dr. Wallace's "Social Environment," or the eloquent comparisons in Chiozza Money's "Riches and Poverty," or any other of the numerous similar enquiries, again might fail to detect the reason for the enthusiasm of missionary organisations in transplanting a system such as produces the crying evils and glaring inconsistencies surrounding us.

"In London"—so ran a whole page appeal in the "Daily Telegraph" in the cold month of February—"at this moment there are thousands to whom each degree's fall in the thermometer is so much additional agony. Men and women feel it keenly, acutely, and to the hapless children it means suffering untold. Think for a moment of some of its phases! There is no money to buy coal, the grate is fireless, . . . and there is nothing but a bit of hard, dry bread. Even the solace of a cup of tea becomes impossible then . . . the pangs of hunger are felt with tenfold force, and the emaciated mother and the shivering children huddle together in the gloom of their bare room." . . . The poor, thin rags that serve as an apology for clothes; the broken boots, through which toes and heels protrude, no warm blankets at night. . . . You cannot—you dare not say you do not see these sufferings. No one can go a walk or drive of half-a-mile in London without passing them:

Women, children, young and old,
Groan from pain and weep from cold;
From the haunts of daily life,
Where is waged the daily strife,
With common wants and common cares
Which sow the human heart with tares.

For we know the long drawn-out misery is there—on our right hand and on our left in this great, proud, wealthy Capital of the Empire. "No food, no fire, no home." "Work for starving women," etc., etc. Such are other headlines to advertisements in the Daily Press of civilised Christian countries!

Besides this, eloquent figures can be quoted from capitalist economists and statesmen, and a long row of Bluebooks produced, which go a long way to explain a good many of the social anomalies surrounding us.

1,400,000 persons in the United Kingdom, for instance, appropriate between them some £634,000,000 whilst 39,000,000 other people share between them £935,000,000. 30,000,000 people of the United Kingdom own no land, whilst 7 landlords draw £14,640,000 per annum in ground rent!

Is it a wonder that there are 13,000,000 continually on the verge of hunger and that the great majority of the people are at the mercy of a small minority? And is it a wonder that this stupid disproportion of wealth-distribution should produce anarchy?

And the same tale of chronic poverty and consequent degradation can be told of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Germany, Austria, France, America, and the rest of those countries where His Majesty King Capital reigns supreme, and where, consequently, Their Worship Profit and Prostitution, male and female, are the pillars of civilisation. Any native from an "uncivilised" land who had been shown through the factory bells of Continental or American industrial centres and brought into contact with the "life" of the workers there and their "homes," might well be excused if not rewarded, for bringing to an abrupt end the career of the missionary babbling to him about the blessings of civilisation.

Chronic strikes, bread riots, sordid tragedies of strife, misery and want, police and military brutalities, are evidence that there, as here, millions do not receive a "living wage," and that there, as here, they are, as the Bishop said, hopelessly divided—class against class.

If then, as can be done, overwhelming evidence can be brought that the system of human co-existence in the so-called civilised Christian

countries is "rotten from top to bottom"—as one great apologist for the system has put it—if besides, the worst that can be said by the Socialist is being repeatedly admitted and substantiated by capitalist economists and statesmen, and if, in spite of the struggle with nature having been won by "civilised" men, the great majority of them have still to live from hand to mouth and, not having any property, have to eke out this existence of perpetual penury and insecurity with the spectre of starvation haunting them, it would certainly seem strange that the contamination of the pure atmosphere of the "uncivilised" with our system and institutions should tend to produce there something different from what it produces here—that is, anarchy and social idiocies. R. FRANK.

(To be Continued.)

MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS.

A REMARK one hears very often is: "Mind your own business." The Socialist Party of Great Britain is out to teach the working class to do this, but the workers are unconscious of their slavery; they prefer to look after their masters' business rather than their own.

The business of the proletarian is merely to understand his class position in society. The Socialist Party of Great Britain is frequently explaining this on the platform. The workers to-day produce all wealth in society, but, for their noble efforts, receive back from the capitalist class—the shirking class—just sufficient to enable them to exist, with a view to turning out more profit.

Why is it necessary for the working class to become conscious of their position in society? Firstly, because they would be minding their own business. Secondly, because, under the present system of society, no worker can claim that he has the right to work—which is the only way he is able to exist—for that right is in the hands of the master class. Thirdly, because no work is given to the worker unless the master can make a profit out of his labour. Fourthly, because, with the destruction of the capitalist system and the establishment of Socialism, every worker will be producing wealth in the interest of the whole community.

The worker does not mind his own business when he concerns himself about rates and taxes; talks of "our own trams," or "our Dreadnoughts," because he is spooked by the agents of the capitalist class, who are continually misleading the dull and unconscious worker. Why, the workers do not get sufficient wages to buy good, wholesome food, let alone pay rates and taxes! Such things as these are no business of the working class, as the rates and taxes are paid by the property-owning class; and, since the working class own nothing but their labour-power, why not mind your own business?

The worker of to-day can be compared somewhat to a motor car. He is given just sufficient petrol (food) to enable him to continue production. When he is not wanted he can stand still, but unlike the motor car, which loses nothing when not wanted, the worker is physically deteriorating by starvation.

Why are the workers worse off? Because they do not mind their own business. Imagine an intelligent working class able to produce all the wealth in society, and after all the energy is pumped out of them, politically ignorant enough to allow masters to rob them of the fruits of their labour.

What good has the capitalist done to the workers? No good at all, in fact, the very system produces misery, degradation, and disease.

Now, the question is, how are you going to alter it? Firstly, by understanding what Socialism means—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF SOCIETY BASED UPON THE COMMON OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE MEANS AND INSTRUMENTS FOR PRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTING WEALTH BY AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY. When the working class understand this they must organise in the S.P.G.B., the only Socialist party, for the capture of the political machinery which controls the force that keeps them in subjection to-day.

Therefore, workers, wake up and start to-day to Mind your own Business! JACK.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 J. G. Stone	R. Reynolds	J. Roe	A. Barker
Boxmoor, Heath Park	7.30 H. Cooper	H. Joy	A. Wallis	J. Ward
Clapham Common	7.15 H. McK	W. Thorne	B. Wilks	A. Anderson
Clapton, N.E., Kingshall Rd.	7.30 J. G. Stone	A. Kohn	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30 R. Reynolds	E. Fairbrother	T. W. Lobb	A. W. Pearson
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	A. Bays	A. Wallis
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 R. Brure	G. Seech	J. G. Stone	A. Kohn
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 F. Vickers	A. Kohn	L. Lytton	E. Fairbrother
Ilford (Station)	7.30 B. Young	A. L. Cox	C. Elliott	F. Vickers
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30 S. Blake	W. Pass	J. Wray	J. Ward
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 C. Elliott	L. Lytton	E. Fairbrother	F. W. Stearn
Marylebone, Salisbury St. Lane	7.30 A. L. Cox	C. Parker	A. Barker	A. L. Cox
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Kohn	J. Roe	E. Lake	R. Reynolds
Parliament Hill	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	C. Elliott	A. Kohn	J. Roe
Peckham Triangle	7.30 G. Seech	A. Wallis	R. Reynolds	B. Young
Tooting Broadway	7.30 C. Baggett	J. Fitzgerald	S. Blake	H. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30 E. Lake	A. Barker	H. Cooper	S. Blake
Victoria Park	7.30 H. Joy	C. Baggett	A. Cox	E. Lake
Walham Green Church	7.30 A. Wallis	A. Anderson	C. Baggett	T. W. Lobb
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	7.30 A. Bays	A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn	G. Seech
Watford, Market Place	7.30 A. Jacobs	A. W. Pearson	A. Jacobs	A. Jacobs
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 L. Lytton	S. Blake	C. White	C. Baggett
	7.30 J. Roe	B. Young	H. Joy	R. Bruce
	7.30 F. Stearn	G. E. Gordon	J. Fitzgerald	T. Wilks
	7.30 E. Fairbrother	J. Ward	G. Seech	C. Elliott
			A. Jacobs	A. Bays

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Elthorne-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Battersea, Mossbury-rd., Lavender-hill, 8. Chelsea, World's End, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30. Marylebone, Lehigh Hill, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amburst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30. Stoke Newington, Palantine-rd., 8. Harrow, St. Ann's Rd., Greenhill, 8. Fulham, Vale Rd., King's Rd., 8.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

HEAD OFFICE:

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Branch business 1st and 3rd Mons., public discussion other Mons. 8.15 at 102, Farleigh-rd. FOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.**WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets altn Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.**WATFORD.**—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave, Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.**WEST HAM.**—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 450, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.**WOOD GREEN.**—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Rd., Wood Green. From Jan. 5 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.**SECOND EDITION.****SOCIALISM & RELIGION.**

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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OF THE

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

THE CAPITALISTS' "DIRECTIVE ABILITY."

SOME LESSONS FROM RECENT HAPPENINGS.

ONE of the stock arguments of the anti-Socialist is that the worker will be unable to control industry under Socialism, as, in order to enable affairs to run smoothly, men are required with some weird, mysterious and miracle-working power called "directive ability."

The Need for the Parasite. The "anties" contend that we could not get along without these powerful individuals, and that (*grande finale*) these men are the ones who to day possess wealth and position, i.e., the Rockefellers, Liptons, Devons, and so on.

Let us just test this contention with a few facts and see how the miracle-workers run this system.

During the last few months a case has been attracting much attention in the courts. In this case certain civilians (past or present employees of Liptons, Ltd.) and some Army officers have been accused under the Bribery and Corruption Acts. In the evidence it transpired that Liptons have been in the habit of giving inducements to Army officers to secure Army canteen contracts. One of the defendants, Col. Whitaker, had received £340 from a firm of brewers, who supplied the beer to Col. Whitaker's regiment at Malta. The Colonel said that he received the greater part of the money for using his influence to secure a contract from a colonel of a regiment at Crete. It also turned in the evidence that a member of the Government, Lord Saye and Sele, had written advising Col. Whitaker to take a holiday and go to Crete to "smooth a ruffled bird" (Col. Bird) for a consideration!

In summing up the case the judge said: "I am bound to say that the evidence before the Court satisfies me that these defendants, employed by Lipton's, in so far as they made payments for the bribery of persons capable of influencing contracts in favour of Lipton's, were acting on a system which was known to the directorate, encouraged by the directorate, and persisted in by the directorate after there had been consideration given as to whether to stop that system or not." ("Times," 28.5.14.)

Now is this the way the capitalists run the show? Is this the way they pile up their fortunes? Is this the line "Directive Ability" takes? When the capitalists themselves are faced with these facts and called to account, what do they answer? Just what Lipton would have answered: "We do not know anything about it; we did not attend to the business. You must blame our managers."

Those who have memories a little longer than the usual working-class memory will recollect that when the directors of the company concerned in the Putumayo rubber atrocities were

brought before the commission, four of them admitted that they did not even know the language in which the business at board meetings was conducted!

Let us now turn to another recent instance of "Directive Ability."

The coalfields of Colorado have lately been drenched with the blood of miners who struck against the conditions obtaining in the mines of the Trinidad Coal and Iron Co. A condition of affairs was in operation there similar to what existed in England before the factory legislation began. The miners were compelled to trade at the company's store, paying 25 to 50 per cent. more than outside prices, to buy coal off the company, pay the company's doctor, and live in the company's shacks.

When the miners struck on September 3rd last wholesale evictions followed, and men, women, and children were turned into the streets with their few belongings, to go where they could in the rain and snow that kept falling through the next two days.

During the strike the mine-owners, following their usual custom, imported as mine guards riff-raff of every description—armed thugs who could be depended upon to commit without hesi-

A Neroic (Rockefeller). tation the most cold-blooded of murders. "No authentic account," says the "New York World" in a candid moment,

"of anything that has happened in Mexico compares in cold-blooded brutality with what took place at Ludlow, Colorado. Dr. A. S. Harvey, a physician who testified at the inquest, said that while the women and children lay in the safety pits which had been dug under the tents, the militiamen applied torches to the canvas and burned the structure over the heads of the terrified refugees. He declared that one ranch-house, in which dozens of women and children had taken refuge, was under fire from the militiamen the whole day." The militia mounted machine guns and swept the strikers' quarters with bullets. Over 200 lives were lost in this mine war.

We now come to the "directive ability" side of the matter. As a result of the allegation that the rioting was caused by agents provocateur, and that the troops acted with great brutality in charging and shooting down men, women, and children indiscriminately, a Congressional inquiry into the matter was ordered. When John D. Rockefeller, Jun., who is a director of the Trinidad Coal and Iron Co., was questioned he "blandly professed entire ignorance as to the details of the rioting and causes of the strike. He admitted that his father owned 40 per cent. of the company's stock, but declared that neither of them interfered with the management of affairs, and they knew very little about the matter. We have so many interests that it is impossible

for us to supervise personally everything."—"Leader," 7.4.14.)

How they get out of it when anything is brought up against them! Capitalists, say our opponents, supervise industry and therefore deserve their profits. Charge Rockefeller

with the murder of the Colorado miners, however, and he immediately begins to squirm, and says he knows nothing about the matter. He does not "supervise personally" when the butcheries have to be accounted for, but only when the "swag" is divided.

When one of the committee very pertinently pointed out that Rockefeller found plenty of time for "social uplift" work and vice investigation, and asked him why he did not investigate the conditions in his own business, the canting, hypocritical scoundrel at once replied: "My conscience acquits me of any responsibility in the matter."—"Leader," 7.4.14.)

The Rockefellers, by the way, seem to be rather accomplished hypocrites, and, incidentally, men after God's own heart. The father of the aforementioned unctuous humbug, John D. Rockefeller, Sen., was referred to last June by Mr. Bustard, the pastor of the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland (of the congregation of which Rockefeller is one of the oldest members) as "one of the rose bushes in God's garden." The same reverend soft-soap and chloroform dispenser also paid a tribute to those faithful followers in the church who, like Mr. Rockefeller, "have for years lead religious lives and been steadfast in the Lord's work." Comment on this is needless.

Before leaving for his father's Pocantico Hills Estate young Rockefeller issued a statement in which he admitted that his investigations into the riots had disclosed conditions more terrible than have yet occurred in that or any other State." ("Reynolds's," 3.5.14.) In his concluding statement before the commission, however, he disclosed his true capitalistic soul, and showed himself as the advocate of free and unfettered sweating. "He got rather angry when it was pointed out that the newspapers had given plenty of details as to the working conditions in Trinidad, and that a word from his father would have stopped the bloodshed and ended the strike. He declined to agree to submit to arbitration, and declared that the company would rather sacrifice the whole of its property in Colorado than recognise the miners' union if it hampered the company's freedom."—"Leader," 7.4.14.)

Well, what about "directive ability" now? As a matter of fact, about the only directive ability the masters ever exercise is in employing managers, foremen, etc. to run their concerns

for them while they are away enjoying themselves, and if a large enough dividend is not regularly forthcoming they want to know the reason why; if a sufficient reason is not given the official gets the sack. Owing to the contradictory nature of present society the workers are compelled to fight each other for jobs. The overlooker and manager are working men like the rest of us, dependent on their jobs for their livelihood and just as likely to get the sack at any moment. Their particular job consists in using every method they can to get the greatest possible amount of work out of their fellow-workers. Thus on the industrial field workers find themselves compelled to fight, not only their masters, but also each other in order to get a living. When the workers take over production then the "directive ability" of our fellow-workers (the absent bond-holding capitalist does no work in production at all), will be employed for the common good instead of, as to-day, for the misery of their fellows. G. McCLATCHE.

FOOLS AND THEIR—IDIOCY.

The class struggle as understood by the writers of the B.S.P.'s so-called official organ, "Justice," is not to be fought out upon the political field, but on our highways.

Writing of motorist read hogs who kill and maim pedestrians and others, "Justice" (4.6.14) says, these pests "will have to be treated very differently by the law, or the common people will take the law into their own hands. We hope that the reckless disregard shown by these motorists for the pedestrian, for the unfortunate cottagers who live on main roads, and for the children who have no other playground than the street, will stir up the class-consciousness that is so very latent in many of our class. The mad lust for change; for pleasure, and above all, for excitement, is making the class line clearer." (Italics mine.)

It's a desire for change, pleasure, and excitement that drives many a working man living a monotonous, dismal, and dull life to drink, but I don't know that he recognises the line of class-cleavage the clearer as a result of his inebriation. Some may, but they are exceptions; there was Harry — and Will — and Pete —, the "task of filling in the blanks I'd rather leave to you," gentle reader.

Whilst the laws are made by capitalist politicians, whom the B.S.P. from time to time support by urging their members to vote for them, the only remedy seems to be that of "propaganda by deed," in other words, the Anarchism advocated in "Justice," (17.8.12), when they advised lynching of some motorists as a preventive of undue speed and caution to others to drive more carefully.

And to paraphrase a well-known saying, "Of such is the camp of confusion."

But out of the same camp comes this, by Mr. Hyndman ("Justice," 11.6.14).

"Unorganised 'rebellion' is idiocy, which merely provokes anger and strengthens resistance. Spasmodic outrage in a free (italics mine) country is sheer madness. It is imperatively necessary, I consider, to put all this quite plainly, because an endeavour is being made to confuse disciplined resistance to a majority with sporadic outrage by a minority: two very different things."

At last! Away with Socialism as a solution for the problem of poverty facing the working class hitherto. A new solution is to hand judging by the display posters issued from time to time by the "Daily Citizen." Like other newspapers, it is assumed that the item of greatest interest is announced on their posters, and in the case of a Labour (!) newspaper, that item affecting the working class nearest.

Take heed, therefore, and follow the racing tips given in the "Daily Citizen" if you would emancipate yourself from wretchedness.

Look! here's how to do it:

ROCKINGHAM
GAVE FIVE
EPSOM WINNERS
YESTERDAY

Paying politics for the people. What? J. B.

A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

A CORRESPONDENT writing to the "Daily Citizen" (4.6.14), gives information of a singular occurrence in a signal box on one of the main railways. The box, visited by a company of soldiers, who were admitted in batches of nine. They were accompanied by the district inspector and a plain clothes officer, who instructed them in the art of railway signalling and block working, much to the surprise and discomfort of the signalmen on duty.

Yet the "Daily Citizen" and its supporters are always howling for the nationalisation of the railways!

When the "Storstad" arrived at Montreal after her disastrous collision with the "Empress of Ireland," she was at once seized by the sheriff and placed under arrest. When the writ was nailed to the mast Captain Andersen demanded to know: "By what authority do you board my vessel and arrest her?" The sheriff replied (probably because the "Storstad" was a "foreigner") that his authority was "the authority of the British Empire."

Under that authority, of course, anything could be "pinched." That's how England became a "great."

Keir Hardie appears to believe that the emancipation of the workers is but of secondary importance. Capitalist measures should receive prior attention. He told his audience at a labour demonstration at Leamahagow (Lanark) that the Labour Party were out to unite the working "classes," but before this could be done the Home Rule question had to be got out of the way.

The Socialist Party, I might point out, are also out to unite the workers, but with this difference—they are out to unite them for Socialism. And of the various obstacles in the way of this unification they have had to encounter, one of the biggest is, not Home Rule, but—the Labour Party!

At a recent meeting of the Blackburn Board of Guardians it was stated that the sum spent in out-relief during 1913 was £2,000 less than that paid in respect of officials' salaries. I am beginning to see why there is such a rush for these jobs.

Mr. Rockefeller's millions appear to bring him endless trouble. He is now expecting to be called to give evidence before the Inter-State Commission which is investigating the affairs of the Newhaven Railroad, U.S.A. In one portion of the evidence a Mr. Millen, ex president of this concern, said that enormous losses were made through financial trickery. He alleged that over £2,000,000 were juggled away by the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan.

We often read, in stories of the old buccannering days of the Spanish Main, where pirates used to cheat each other out of their share of the plunder, and which invariably ended up in a fight and a lot of blood-spilling.

Similarly to-day, the industrial pirates quarrel over their share of the booty. Whilst agreed that the manner of acquiring it is satisfactory (to them), yet, as soon as they begin to handle the loot they cheat each other mercilessly, and invariably wind up in a fight—not a bloody fight, but a legal one.

In this case blood is spilled in order to get the booty—not the blood of the pirates, but that of the toiling millions who are bludgeoned and battered into turning it over to them.

Many meetings have been held of late to protest against the employment of Chinese and other "foreigners" as seamen on board British ships. Yet one thing seems to have been left out of account. That is that "Sea Scouts" are now being shipped as deck hands on board British vessels. Possibly it is only to gain experience—but experience of what? Is it the same experience that Boy Scouts are undergoing in connection with the military forces?—experience that may be turned to account "should

any danger threaten the Empire" from within or without?

The scout law says: "A Scout must be loyal to his King, and to his officers, and to his parents, his country, and his employers. He must stick to them through thick and thin against anyone who is their enemy, or who even talks badly of them." In other words the "Scouts" are there to be used as the tools of capitalism against the workers. That fact is obvious enough, at any rate. They are well organised on land; now they are turning their attention to the sea, and the introduction of a few Scouts on board merchant ships also marks the introduction of the thin end of the wedge. Of course, there may be nothing in it, but I "hæ ma doots." It opens up possibilities.

The Rev. A. G. Waldron tells the "Daily Sketch" (12.6.14) that: "Modern Socialistic philosophy has had a bad effect on many people. They want everything done for them." Which causes one to wonder what the reverend gent does for a living, that he can afford to talk like that. My experience of these professional medicine men is that they don't do anything for a living. They live on the product of other people's toil. To use this pulpit thumper's own words, they "want everything done for them"—and thanks to the unmitigated foolishness of those workers whom "modern Socialistic philosophy" has not yet "spoiled," they get "everything done for them."

Waldron also said that he had "tried the experiment of allowing questions to be asked after the sermon, but it was a failure. Only the fools asked questions in church." I suppose every person who asked a question was considered a fool. Well, perhaps he was. Only fools and rogues are to be found in churches, and it is the height of a fool's folly to question a rogue concerning his roguesy.

How is this? Have the workers of Tonypandy already forgotten the treatment they got at the hands of the capitalists' butchers? It would appear so, judging from a picture which was published in a recent issue of the "Daily News and Leader."

It seems that the Prince and Princess of Teck had paid a visit to Tonypandy. Of course, they went about the mines, where their presence created great enthusiasm (which, by the way, is a very useful element, and quite necessary now-a-days to the capitalists' game of bleeding the workers), so much so that, instead of going home, they lined up at the pit-mouth, all in their dirt and grime, just as they had come up out of the bowels of the earth, and sang with feeling and gusto, "Land of my Fathers." This is distinctly good, only the wording of the hymn appeared to me to be inappropriate. It should have been "Land of my Masters."

How terrifying is that oft-maligned and much misunderstood phrase, "the class war"! How soon it will disturb the even temperament of a respectable congress! For instance, the International Textile Workers held their congress during the second week in June at Blackpool. The congress was asked by the foreign delegates to say that the International Congress would only accept those unions for membership which stood by the principle of the class war. The English section, however, did not like the phrase, "because in England it had rather a bad repute, and was only connected with one small part of the Labour movement." (This is where the Labour Party chuckles.)

In face of this refusal the Continental delegates were compelled to seek another expression, so they hit upon the phrase "organisations that combat the present capitalistic state of things." This was accepted.

What surprised the Continental delegates, said one of them, was that, far from looking down upon the workmen, the English employers treated them on a fraternal footing, and with the ordinary politeness of human intercourse. That will explain the repugnance of the English section to the introduction of the class war principle. Naturally, if they are so pally with the bosses, the class war won't exist for them.

TOM SALL.

ON THE BUILDING STRIKE.

BACK in January last the London Master Builders' Association, together with certain building firms outside the Association, placed before their "hands" a form with the following words inscribed thereon:

"I agree if employed by you, to peacefully work with my fellow employees (engaged either in your direct employment or in that of any sub-contractor) whether they are members of a Trade Society or not, and I agree that I will not quit your employment because any of my fellow employees is or is not a member of any Trade Society; and I also agree that if I commit any breach of this agreement I shall be subject to a fine of Twenty Shillings, and I also agree that the amount of such fine may be deducted from any wages that may be due to me."

The reason the masters issued this form was, on their own showing, that great disturbance is caused to their business by the "down tools" policy of their men to make non-unionists join the respective unions of their callings.

Now, as the masters say in the document: "to work peacefully with my fellow employees," evidently peace is what the masters want—in order to get on with the business. And peace they will probably get, for that gaunt spectre, Starvation, is at work for them in the ranks of the struggling toilers.

The average trade-unionist thinks it is possible to get almost every worker into a trade union either by coercion or by peaceful means. This idea is totally wrong. When the basis of the capitalist mode of production is understood this becomes apparent. The means and instruments of wealth production and distribution are owned by the capitalist or master class, and it necessarily follows that production is to be in their interest. Hence an army of unemployed workers is an advantage to them as exercising a powerful influence in keeping wages down. It follows that those who have a hard time of it will in many cases leave the trade unions and take any job that offers, whether it is under the T.U. standard or not.

The class-conscious worker sees no enemy in the non-unionist, but sees the capitalist whip of hunger which sets worker against worker.

The trade-unionist and the non-unionist are alike in this—they support capitalism by sending the master class into power time and time again. It is as plain as a pikestaff that the trade-unionist will presently be agitating for the amalgamation of trade unions, in order to try by "solidarity" to improve their conditions. For, said to say, it seems so easy to try every method but the right one.

The great fault is that the toilers as a class see no other system than the wages system, and for that reason they play into the hands of the masters in their every action. After every strike they go back (if allowed) chastened, even if not beaten, and commence again with sullen energy to produce wealth for their masters, and in return get a bare subsistence.

It is a mad condition of social life. The life of the working man, even when he is regularly employed, is a rotten one, and his poverty is only intensified when he "downs tools." "You must not quit work," say the masters, "because of men not holding a ticket," but you must quit when the masters have no further use for you, and then come the penalties of unemployment—sickness, starvation, worry.

There is a far worse document than this one of the Master Builders' Association which the workers have signed, and have signed willingly. That is the document at the polling booth—a document that gives the masters political power to keep going this hellish system of society, that spells poverty to the workers, and untold wealth to those who employ the slaves of industry.

"A fair day's work for a fair day's pay" says the ticket workman. There cannot be any such thing as a fair day's work until throughout society all able-bodied human beings perform their portion of the work of society. Then, and then only, will society see how it pays to have all work, and therefore all enjoy the social product of mankind's energy used in a sane manner. Until that time comes—the day of the

awakening of the working class—there will be a large number of officials to breed the ticket men. These officials will endeavour to make it appear that the unions have won victories; they will cry "organise! organise!" and will call the non-unionists scabs and blacklegs; and all the time they will support this rotten social system, which produces scabs, blacklegs, and hirelings who will preach anything that will give them some advantage over the average wage slave.

So, then, you of the building trades who are suffering from the lockout, realise now that the masters are still masters and you are wage-slaves. With all the tickets you have handled, there still remains to be taken up, the ticket of the class-conscious worker—the ticket of the man who has discovered that the working class will not achieve their emancipation until the capitalist class are wiped out.

Good nature will not do it; the clapping of hands will not accomplish it. The worshipping of heroes will not bring better times. You must think for yourselves.

It must be the workers as a class who must gain working-class emancipation, by their worldwide collective energy, intelligently used to capture Political power, to make it law that the means of wealth production and distribution shall belong to the people. S. W.

THE ONLY REPLY.

For many years political quacks and others have been energetically demanding greater efficiency from the workers. The Socialist Party have repeatedly pointed out that the same results follow greater efficiency that inevitably follow the introduction of labour-saving machinery and more up-to-date methods.

A moment's thought should convince any sane person. If nine hundred men increase their efficiency to that extent that they can do the work previously performed by one thousand, then one hundred become unemployed. Extend this higher efficiency over the whole of the working class and the number of unemployed increases enormously. The figures used are suppositious, but it is questionable whether the increased efficiency, say of the last twenty years, has not had a far greater effect. Speeding up has become common in every occupation, and unemployment increases in spite of the much-boomed trade prosperity. The theory is proved by practice and experience.

All that politicians and economists do is to reiterate their unsubstantiated assertion that it is a remedy for poverty. They seldom attempt a reply to what most of them know to be the truth. Occasionally, however, a literary desperado with more courage than wisdom, breaks a lance on the solid rock, and as the splinters fly, the poverty and weakness of capitalist argument are exposed.

Neither is it necessary for the Socialist to rake over the garbage of the gutter Press, or hastily published daily papers.

"The Spectator," classic defender of the faith, champion, par excellence, of a rotting and useless class—enters the lists against the Socialist indictment.

"The Spectator" has found "the only way." "The Spectator" refers to "the absurd superstition that the increased efficiency of one workman means less employment for another."

"The Spectator," June 6th, 1914, says "A fallacy which can only be answered, as we have answered it many times before, by pointing out that if this proposition were true, it would follow that the best way of making work for everybody would be for nobody to do any work at all."

Deep, profound, almost comical must be the wisdom of "The Spectator." Let us try it. F. F.

BIRMINGHAM.

All sympathisers with the Party in the Birmingham district who require information as to joining, etc., should communicate with E. JESPER, 74 MURDOCK ROAD.

HANESWORTH, BIRMINGHAM, from whom the "Socialist Standard" may also be obtained.

A COMMON OBJECTION ANSWERED

OPPOSITION at Socialist meetings often takes the form of asking for a detailed plan of Socialism, and on receiving the reply that none can be given, the opposer declares triumphantly that Socialism is impracticable.

Now, as a matter of fact, any forecast of the details of a future system of society will be vitiated by its being coloured by conceptions engendered by our present environment. As all our ideas are suggested by our material surroundings, past and present, we cannot mentally project ourselves into a form of society that has never yet been in existence.

Further, no detailed plan is necessary for the attainment of Socialism. We know that Capitalism was brought about by the revolution that destroyed the old society, Feudalism. Were the pioneers of that revolution, the men who fought the battle of the rising bourgeoisie against the feudal nobility, prepared with a plan of capitalist society? Had they in mind such details as wheat corners, massacres, and Liberator swindles? No, it was sufficient for the purpose to wrest the political machinery out of the hands of the feudal nobility. The details of Capitalism have been settled by the capitalists themselves as they have arisen. Similarly, it is sufficient for the working class to capture the political machinery and to seize the means of production and distribution. The details of Socialist society will then be settled by the people as they arise. The broad basis of Socialism, viz., the common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, and their democratic control by the people, is sufficient for the present.

Moreover, the opposer is not usually very consistent, for he is probably either a Liberal or a Conservative. If the former he would at the last general election have voted for Home Rule for Ireland, without having any knowledge of the details of the present Home Rule Bill. If a Conservative he would have voted for Tariff Reform, of which Mr. Balfour has declared no details can be given, thus: "I may say incidentally that I am not going to be bullied by our opponents into doing what they never think of doing, which is to give an account of the precise details of their procedure some years hence."

H. T. EDWARDS.

FULHAM FORGING AHEAD.

It is pleasing to be in the position to state that the Fulham Branch is forging ahead. Its members are enthusiastic and though numerically on the small side, its activity is great. Three propaganda meetings a week, are being held, namely, on Sunday at Walham Green, Fulham, on Thursday at World's End, Chelsea, and on Saturday at Vale Avenue, Chelsea, while the comrades are trying different spots on Sunday mornings before settling where we shall hold a regular Sunday morning meeting.

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," and we are striking blows fast and furious at this present miserable system. Do we of this branch fail to hold our meeting should—as is sometimes inevitable—the official speaker not put in an appearance? Certainly not! We just get on with it and hold the meeting ourselves, and by so doing we are developing more speakers to carry on the fight.

Our audiences are very attentive, and show a growing appreciation of our work; our sales of literature are also steadily increasing, which in itself is a sign of progress.

The Branch meetings at 295 Wandsworth Bridge Road, Fulham, are held regularly, and after business is finished discussion takes place, to which the PUBLIC are cordially invited.

How many workers of Fulham and Chelsea realise our good work and the truth of the principles we propagate? Quite a lot! Then why not join us and take a share in the fight? Appreciation from without is all very well, but a little help from within is a thousand times better. Attend our Branch meetings. Discuss with us. Let us explain to you. For your lot is our lot; you want freedom—so do we. Let us work for it together, then.

FRANCIS SEC.

cal conclusion and follows with a disquisition on surplus value as if it came from human labour-power alone, conveniently dropping all further reference to steam power, and he concludes, by asserting that all surplus value, whatever particular form it may subsequently crystallise into, is in substance the materialisation of unpaid labour. Perhaps some Marxist will now explain why the employer's surplus value comes from the human worker and practically nothing from the machinery. And when he has done so, he may then proceed to explain how it is that, if the employer's profits depend on the surplus-value of the labour he employs, he so often fails in his business.

GEORGE W. DAW

These are the barest facts indeed in the callous murder of our fellow-workers in the land of the Almighty Dollar. It shows the most dull-witted worker how similar is the conduct of the class war by the masters all the world over. It vividly recalls the slaughter of the

Verily, the capitalist moves in mysterious

Post Free 1½d

After this it is useless for the philosopher to

...the immediate result of machinery is to augment surplus value and the mass of products in which

supply and demand equal each other if it is not the average labour-time under the prevailing conditions of production?

ent part of constant capital, creates no new value, but yields up its own value to the product it serves to beget. That it is just this that is imputed on every balance sheet of every in-

lasts on an average ten years, then each year's balance sheet will show an item of 10 per cent. (or £100) under the heading of "Depreciation" for that machine. This amount is counted in the cost of production, and divided among the number of commodities turned out during the year. Thus no more than its own value is imparted to the articles by the machine. But now take the labourers. What they receive is always less than the value they turn out, and it is the only item on the balance sheet showing such a difference—such a surplus.

Mr. Daw's misunderstanding of Marx in the other quotation given is simply extraordinary. The "increased expenditure" of labour mentioned by Marx refers, of course, to the greater speed and intensity with which the individual is burdened, as shown in page after page of the section quoted from. See, in particular, pages 391 to 417. Marx never maintained the absurdity that Mr. Daw tries to place on him, that a machine required more labourers to produce the same amount of wealth in a given time. No one showed the contrary more clearly. See pages 430 to 448 of "Capital." And Mr. Daw is treading on very thin ice when he refers to Marx's statements being "smart, but not straightforward," as the quotation that he refers to as "after this" occurs 26 pages before, i.e., on page 383. Here Marx—as every reader of the section knows—is comparing the cost of modern machinery with the old handicraft tools, and it is obvious to the poorest intelligence, that the product of a day's working with a modern machine has more value transferred from that machine than the product of a day's working with hand tools has. Or to quote the same page, "it is as clear as noon-day that machines and systems of machinery . . . are incomparably more loaded with value than the implements used in handicraft." The day's product is therefore dearer, but the number of products being so much greater, each individual article is cheaper.

As shown above, however, the best division of time to take is the average life of the machine, and compare the two methods upon that basis.

The above shows how stupid and childish are the "two inferences" our opponent attempts to draw from Marx's statement.

Our previous contribution shows the absurdity of Mr. Daw's statement that the capitalist "exploits the machine." But we are told that by our reasoning it can be shown that all wealth "is due to light." What a pity it is for Mr. Daw's illustration, that men work in so many dark places, such as mines, and so on. Any schoolboy could see that light is not the essential factor in wealth production in the economic sense. Light exists where no wealth is produced, but on the other hand no wealth is produced where labour-power does not exist. Twist as they may the defences of capitalism cannot find a single loophole in the Socialist case, as all the wriggles of our opponent show.

To say Marx "ignores the fuel" is met, among countless other instances, by page 384, where Marx refers to this and the other "forces furnished by nature without the help of man."

The manufacturers only seek "to use more machinery" because, as shown in "Capital" on the pages given, and in our own contributions, it enables them to more fully exploit the workers employed. To say that Marx "does not attempt to explain what peculiar property there is in human labour-power and skill by which it imparts three or four times the sum paid in wages," shows either an ignorance of what Marx said, or a deliberate dodging of what he wrote. The point is dealt with in numerous portions of Marx's writings, and is especially analysed in pages 166 to 180 of "Capital." Anyone—opponent or friend—who is interested, is advised to read the chapter entitled, "The Labour Process," for a complete answer to Mr. Daw. The peculiar thing about labour power, as Marx proves, is that it is "a source not only of value, but of more value than it has itself!" ("Capital," p. 175.)

The only "admission" about the quotation from page 446, is that machinery enables the capitalists to rob the workers of greater quantities of wealth than previously, an "admission" that all Socialists cheerfully agree to. There is no dropping of any "logical conclusion" by Marx, but only the fuller working out of that conclusion by examination from various sides.

Several Marxists have already shown both

"how" and "why" surplus value "comes from the human worker and practically nothing from machinery." The best instance is to be found in pages 156 to 180 of a book called "Capital," written by a person named—Karl Marx.

The chief reason for failures in business is the fact that the big concern with the large capital, having the greater powers of exploitation, is able to beat the relatively small competitor out of existence. But it must be carefully noted that, though individuals may fail here and there, the capitalist class not only do not fail, but grow richer year by year. Ed. Com.

THE FORUM.

IS THE BALLOT-BOX A NECESSITY OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM?

We have received from a correspondent in Berlin the following query, which we were unable to deal with earlier on account of pressure on our space.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Dear Sir,—Will you please answer the following question in the next number of "S.S."

In No. 113 "S.S.," page 35, third column, you criticise the quotation: "If putting a piece of paper into a tin box would effect a revolution, you can bet your boots that the State (i.e., the bosses) wouldn't supply the box" ("Daily Herald," 27.11.13), as follows: "Which is quite forgetting the fact that the ballot box is a necessity of the present system, and is provided by the masters as a receptacle for the votes of the working class after they have been kidded into voting for them. When this method no longer suits their purpose they may endeavour to change it."

Now, (1) if it is a fact that the ballot-box is a necessity, then it must also be a fact that the present system cannot exist without it. (2) The State (i.e., the bosses) therefore, cannot change this method even if it does no longer suit their purpose, or else you are wrong by stating it is a fact that the ballot-box is a necessity of the present system. (3) If again, it be no necessity, has your organisation an alternative to voting?

Sincerely yours,
KROLL.

The use of the term "necessity" in a Jottings paragraph must, of course, be taken in a relative sense. While the existence of capitalism without the ballot-box may be conceivable, no evidence of its existence without it has yet been known.

Under the circumstances in which capitalism came into existence, the ballot-box was a necessity for its establishment, and its use and value to the capitalist system grow, rather than diminish, with the development of that system.

The reason for this is clear to the Socialist, or anyone else who has made a fair study of capitalism. With the increasing complexity and interdependence of the various parts, it becomes more and more imperative to extend the delegation of various functions to larger numbers of the working class. This is the more necessary as the capitalists have long ceased to be capable of running capitalism, and have to depend upon the working class to do it.

Every extension of this delegation requires that, sooner or later, an extension of the basis of representation must take place. Hence the continual, if somewhat lop-sided, "democratisation of the franchise" that is sometimes pushed forward by Liberals and sometimes by Tories. The only alternative in front of the capitalist class is chaos. Unable to manage capitalism themselves, they must arrange for the workers to do it or see the system collapse.

Now the more desperate, or stupid, of the capitalist class may attempt to change the ballot-box in the last stages of the struggle, but it will then be too late in itself, while the majority of the class will waver, hesitate, flounder, and—be overwhelmed by the workers.

What Kroll fails to see is that a factor of a system may be forced out of that system—with resultant collapse—and yet be a "necessity" for its smooth continuance. Hence the statement, though brief, was correct in essence. The Ballot

is a necessity for the smooth working of capitalism. Conceivably it could be removed, but only at the cost of the collapse of the system.

The Socialist position is, therefore, obtain control of power through the use of the ballot, because it is the easiest, speediest, and surest way. Ed. Com.

WALTHAMSTOW REPORTS.

The forthcoming season holds great hopes for the Socialist Party in this locality, and the resumption of outdoor propaganda meetings has called forth all the enthusiasm of the branch membership.

As is inevitable in a district where there are two pseudo-Socialist organisations, we have been afforded a considerable number of opportunities to attack the enemy: opportunities that have been taken advantage of, as will be seen.

As the local District Council Elections took place recently the B.S.P. put up two candidates for the Higham Hill Ward in the persons of Messrs. Ramsey and Friedberg.

They placarded the neighbourhood with "Daily Herald" posters bearing the appeal: "Vote for Friedberg and Ramsey," and there was a special edition of the "Daily Herald" published, called "The Walthamstow Election Number."

In support of their nominee's candidature, the B.S.P. held meetings, and at those held at Higham Hill Road, at question time they manifested the fact that they wished the members of the Socialist Party anywhere but there.

On the eve of the poll their speaker was Jack Jones of South West Ham; they also had on their platform, Mr. Ellis of the I.L.P., from Buckhurst Hill.

At question-time we put our questions and our Comrade B. Young asked for their platform to oppose, which request was, as usual, refused; and further questioning culminated in their chairman losing his temper and hurling at our Comrade Young the threat to "come down and twist his neck."

This threat was, of course, as idle and worthless as their "reply" to the questions of the members of this party. The said reply invariably being: "I was in the Socialist movement before you were born, and I know more about economics than any member of your party."

"Simply this and nothing more."

This "reply" and their refusal of their platform to our Comrade Young, are eloquent testimony to their courage and their confidence in their cause.

That other organisation of political tricksters and fools (it is difficult to tell which preponderate), the Independent Labour Party, happened to choose the same evening and spot (Hoe Street Station) for holding week night meetings as had this Branch, so that on May 6th we had to conduct our meeting in opposition to the I.L.P.

However, Comrade B. Young addressed the larger of the two crowds on our behalf, and on Wednesday, May 13th, a comrade bringing the platform very early, secured the foremost pitch.

On his arrival, Mr. Peel, of the I.L.P., became so chagrined at this that after hurling a string of epithets such as "scum," "blackguard," and "slanderer" at our comrade, he threatened to horsewhip him.

This "gentleman," along with his crony, Campbell, manifested by this means, and by his abuse of the Socialist Party when any of its members question them, the rottenness of their case and the weakness of their position.

Our speaker again proved too good for the I.L.P.'s speaker, a leather-tongued individual who said he was proud of West Ham (notwithstanding its filth) because it had three Socialist(!) Councillors.

We had a large and attentive audience, whilst the I.L.P.'er addressed a meeting of their local branch.

We are also giving the Anti-Socialist Union's speakers a warm time, counteracting, by questions and interpolations, the effect of the rubbish they trot out.

Boys! we are fighting a winning fight, so see that the "promise of spring" is fulfilled. Gird up your loins and have at them!

DERMOT.

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF COLONISATION.

(Continued from last issue.)

EVERY analysis of, and enquiry into, the conditions of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of Christian civilised countries will and must reveal the fact that, so far as this civilisation from giving or promoting genuine joy in life, there is a very real justification for the common reference to this existence as "the burden of life," if not for the necessity of having "to bear the cross" in silent resignation. Surely, then, it is anything but desirable or justifiable to inflict such "burdens" upon other peoples who live in happier circumstances—free to enjoy the natural bounties surrounding them, and above all, the fruits of their labour.

The records of many individual missionaries, explorers, travellers, etc., besides being almost invariably full of praise for the physical beauty and soundness of the greater number of more or less primitive peoples, and paying high tributes to their skill, moral qualities, etc., such records with equal frequency depict the free and happy existence of the "uncivilised" as compared with the sordid "struggle (!) for life" of civilised man. In a recent number of the "Samoanische Zeitung" for instance, the following appeared:

"In this sunny climate with glorious scenery around us, we forget the squalid, sordid atmosphere which envelops all great European cities, and the fierce, stone age struggle for a bare living in which hundreds of thousands of men and women there are piteously involved. When we compare the happy condition of the Samoans and other Central Polynesian natives with that of the abject poor in England, America, and Russia, we feel sorry for the latter. . . . Let us not, then, over educate the native, and especially let us not instil into his mind the belief that cash is the main chance. For many of us it is, but not for him."

And from an East African paper I extract the following, written by an experienced traveller:

"On broad well-kept roads . . . the villages and huts of the Washambaa people and other native tribes can be reached; there one can observe them tilling their fields, feeding their children, collecting the milk from their herds, and one cannot help a feeling of envy at the leisure which they can enjoy in these proceedings. They live simply, and without a care in the world—not tilling much more than is required—most of the food practically grows into their mouths, but they are almost too 'lazy' to grasp for it. Black children with dark clear eyes and well-fed little 'tummies' are hurrying through rich banana-groves and break down the fruit; if it is ripe they eat it, if not, it remains on the ground to rot."

"During my travels there I was often reminded of other parts of the world I had visited and I drew comparisons. Thus, many a landscape made me think of Italy; there, for example, between Amalfi and Sorrente (Italy) with its disrupted mountains and high plunging brooks, an industrious people wrings treasures from the soil. On the mountainsides there are teeming vineyards, whose yield, however, the hungry, begging multitude of children, who imploringly stretch out their meagre fingers at the approach of the visitor, can never enjoy!"

Apart from the absence of anything that modern society, as at present constituted, could offer to other less advanced races to guarantee the latter's enhanced welfare and happiness—supposing for a moment that the bourgeoisie, of all human societies, were capable of such an altruistic feeling—there is the indisputable and glaring fact that the bourgeoisie utterly reject any idea of association with, or relationship other than unconditional distinction, from, the colored, and especially the more or less primitive black races—not to mention their abhorrence for such notions as "equality" or "brotherhood."

This fact, then, would also constitute a queer explanation for the bourgeoisie's keen interest in colonizing and their support of missionary effort. Not only the

Colonial Press, but writers and politicians at home take every opportunity to lodge their pro-tendencies. "We will not have any equality or test against any what are called 'negrophile' fraternal relation with those African races!" vituperate those superior, if conceived, Sons of God. "Assimilation of our high-standing working class (c'est bon!) with the detestable, lazy rabble of Africa?—Never!" they rave. One feels it necessary to remind the enquirer, that the coming of the vulgar "civilized" has no more been invited by the "detestable, lazy rabble" than the presence of the bourgeoisie is appreciated. What, then, one may ask, is the incentive—the purpose of the missionary effort?

Now, although the disinterested apostles and propagandists of Christianity, and the rest of the vulgar satellites of the bourgeoisie, often let the cat out of the bag by themselves boasting of the commercial value (to their paymasters) of their missions, there are none the less the assertions of their more hypocritical, or shall we say ignorant, brethren affirming pompously that the object of their "missions to the heathen" is their great concern for the education, moral and intellectual uplifting, and general welfare of the natives of foreign "uncivilised" lands. Childish as this assertion may seem at this time of day, even to the non-Socialist, it is nevertheless the officially declared and avowed object of missionary organisations, besides being frequently used by those following on their heels.

It will, therefore, not be superfluous to have on record in the "Socialist Standard," fresh evidence from Colonial mouthpieces of our Christian promoters of "civilisation," that the sole object of the colonization and opening up of foreign "uncivilised" countries, is first of all the forcible appropriation of their natural riches (wealth), which the native, of course, never dreamed was by the Will of God ordained to serve a purpose far higher than that of being merely enjoyed as means of subsistence.

Further, and necessarily, the forcible subjection and exploitation of those peoples for the benefit of the cosmopolitan clique of capitalists and concession hunters, since for the purpose of success in the piratical enterprise of appropriation it is necessary to have the co-operation of the natives themselves. And it is here that "good offices" of missionary societies come in. They offer the cloak behind which to hide the brutalities connected with the conversion of the native from an owner of his land and independent conditions of existence into a propertyless wage-earner—the element which is as indispensable to Capital as is the stomach to the human being. All the talk of education, moral and intellectual uplifting, etc., simply resolves itself into an effort to imbue the native with the due respect for that mysterious quality of all things known by the "civilised" as Value and Price, and the inestimable virtues of industry and abstinence.

It is, besides, a matter of history how the various peoples, who to-day "enjoy" the company of "cultured civilised man," have been and still are being "educated" and "guided." The Putumayo horrors still haunt the memory and are in themselves sufficient to prove how far from the truth is the impudent assertion that the concern of the "pioneer of civilisation" is the welfare of the natives. Indeed, the blood of thousands of innocent men, women and children cries out aloud against such a lie as this.

A glance over the map of Africa, for example, which has in later years in particular received the attentions of the Gospel merchants and their "followers"—the concession hunters—will prove to the world in whose service the former are, and will provide for posterity a lasting example of Christian love and brotherhood.

The governments of Germany, England, France, Belgium, Italy, etc. have vied with each other in their disinterested desires to help on the work of "education" and "uplifting" preliminarily started under the auspices of their sky-pilots, while the factory bells of Krupp and Maxim and other murder-instrument makers have been kept busy supplying the where-withall to furnish the recalcitrant with a dose of the eternal bliss promised by the missionary. Almost each designative name on the map recalls the cold-blooded slaughter of numberless innocent human beings in the most cowardly and fiendish manner, although the whole extent

soldiers' will, of course, never be told. One has of the horrors perpetrated by the "Christian" to be satisfied with what filters through, and can only gather from one's knowledge of the all-pervading greed of that sinister and dehumanised 20th Century product, the modern capitalist class, what the innocent multitudes of the natives can expect once they come into the clutches of our masters.

Who of us, who are Socialists, can forget the Congo or the Tripolis atrocities, the wholesale slaughter in South Africa, the massacres in Egypt and in the Sudan, the butcheries in Algeria and Morocco, the systematic murders in German East and South-West Africa? All of which have been perpetrated, and are still being perpetrated, in order to obtain access to, and confiscate the riches of, the land, and by the same token force the natives into the labour market!

As a rule, after the chiefs of the staff in the human slaughterhouse have had their day and their "purse" for successfully establishing their masters' authority abroad, the equally deadly, if less noisy and often more deceiving, weapon of legislation completes the work of brigandage and the consequent impoverishment of the subdued peoples. Thus, last year's "Land Act" assigned to the 4 millions natives in the South African Union, 11,000,000 morgen land out of the total area of 142,000,000 morgen, the remaining 131,000,000 morgen being in the occupation of 1,250,000 whites. The provisions of the Act are, of course, such as to prevent the natives from acquiring land outside the scheduled areas, and to leave them no alternative but the wage-labour market—no escape from the dependency on the "profiteer."

It is obvious that so long as a man can find his means of subsistence freely provided by nature, e.g., so long as he owns means allowing of the production of the things whereby he lives, he need not and will not sell himself to another man: in other words, he is not fit material for capital. This fact alone is sufficient to indicate that expropriation of the native is an indispensable condition. And just as the history of the rise of the bourgeoisie in Europe is marked by a series of revolutions and wars ending, as it did, in the complete dispossession of the great mass of the people of every vestige of independent property, so the natives of "uncivilised" Africa have to go through this metamorphosis as soon as they have the misfortune to come in contact with the modern bourgeoisie. Capital, the demon inseparable from the bourgeoisie, is as we know, not a thing—it is a social relationship and requires the existence of a huge class of men and women deprived of all possibility of producing their own means of subsistence. The crucial point in the Colonies is, therefore, to ensure the separation of the natives from their own conditions of labour and their root, the soil, and thus create there that "high-standing" artificial product of modern society, the proletariat, which is synonymous to saying—"the poor."

FRANK.

(To be Continued.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—
"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:
MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT 7.30 p.m.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JULY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 S. Blake	J. Roe	R. Reynolds	A. Barker
" "	7.30 E. Fairbrother	C. Baggett	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Boxmoor, Heath Park	7.15 J. Roe	H. Macdonald	R. Gardiner	E. Thorne
Clapham Common	7.30 A. Kohn	C. Baggett	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30 G. Seech	A. Bays	E. Young	A. W. Pearson
Finsbury Park	7.30 C. Baggett	A. Anderson	G. Seech	A. Kohn
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 B. Young	I. Ward	A. Leslie	J. Brown
Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle	7.30 W. Pass	T. W. Lobb	C. Elliott	C. Baggett
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Kohn	F. Vickers	A. Anderson	I. Le Carte
Ilford (Station)	7.30 A. Leslie	R. Bruce	A. L. Cox	R. Reynolds
Kensington, Portobello Rd., near R. Rd.	7.30 C. Elliott	H. Joy	T. W. Lobb	E. Fairbrother
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Brown	A. Jacobs	J. Ward	B. Young
" "	7.30 A. Bays	H. King	H. Cooper	A. Cox
Marylebone, Salisbury St., Lasso Grove	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	S. Blake	A. Kohn	R. Bruce
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Wallis	E. Lake	E. Fairbrother	S. Blake
Parliament Hill	11.30 R. Bruce	W. Pass	A. Jacobs	A. W. Pearson
Peckham Triangle	7.30 F. Vickers	A. Barker	A. Wallis	A. Bays
Tooting Broadway	11.30 A. Barker	R. Reynolds	E. Lake	J. Ward
" "	7.30 H. Joy	C. Elliott	F. Vickers	C. White
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30 A. Anderson	A. Wallis	C. Baggett	C. Elliott
" "	7.30 T. W. Lobb	A. Kohn	A. W. Pearson	A. Wallis
Victoria Park	4.0 A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	B. Young	G. Seech
Walham Green Church	7.30 H. Cooper	C. White	A. Barker	H. Joy
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	7.30 J. Ward	A. W. Pearson	A. Bays	T. W. Lobb
Watford, Market Place	7.30 H. Macdonald	A. L. Cox	R. Bruce	T. Wilkins
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 R. Reynolds	B. Young	J. Fitzgerald	A. Jacobs
" "	7.30 A. W. Pearson	E. Fairbrother	J. Ward	A. Anderson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
 Kilburn, Victoria Rd., 8. Walthamstow, Hoe St. Station, 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalen-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Elthorne-rd., Highgate, N.
 Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Battersea, Mossbury-rd., Lavender-hill, 8. Chelsea, World's End, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Marylebone, Lord High Admiral, Church-st., 8.
SATURDAYS.—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30. St. Luke Newington, Palantine-rd., 8. Harrow, St. Ann's Rd., Greenhill, 8. Fulham, Vale Rd., King's Rd., 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britania-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EAST LONDON.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 178 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Monds.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 205 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.
GRAVESEND.—Secy., Geo. Richmond, 3 Cooper's Row, Northfleet.
ILFORD.—"Secretary," 119 Second Avenue, Minor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30.
KILBURN.—W. Pass, Secretary, 4 Cardigan-road, Kilburn. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 69 High-rd. Kilburn (side door).
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.
MARYLEBONE.—S. W. Todd, Sec., 16 Clarendon Ter., Maida Vale, W. Branch meets Sat., at 7.30, at Bennett's Restaurant, 82 Lisson-grove N.W.
N. KENSINGTON.—T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Tues. at 8, at Poulson's C. Bee Tavern, 235 Portobello-rd., Notting Hill.
NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 150 York-rd., where Branch meets alt. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOCK NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary 82 Midway-rd., Newington Green.

Branch business 1st and 3rd Monds, public discussion other Monds. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.
TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Monds. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets alt. Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—A. Lawton, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave, Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.
WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 218, High Rd., Wood Green. From Jan. 5 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

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The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess, but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

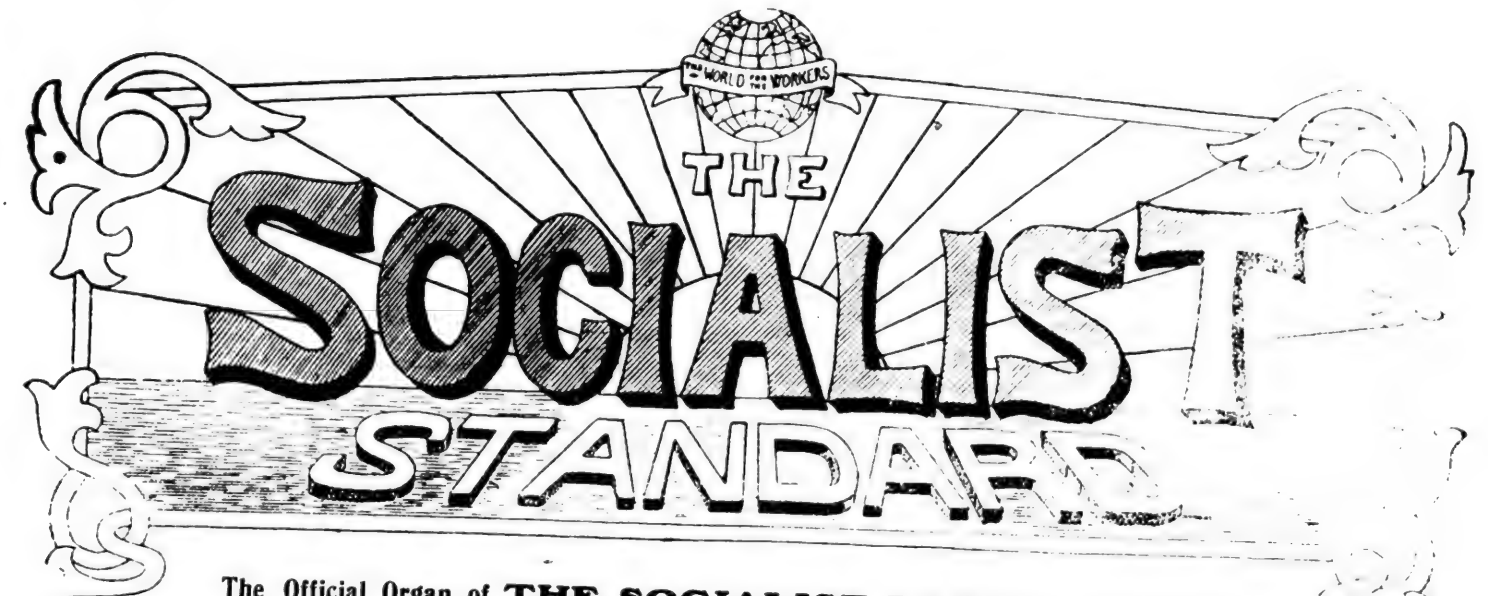
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The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

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LONDON, AUGUST, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LABOUR AND WAGES.

SOME, WEIRD STATEMENTS DEALT WITH.

In the second number of the "Candid, Quarterly Review," conducted by Mr. Thomas Gibson Bowles, appears an unsigned article with the above title. The writer raises the question of industrial disputes, proclaims the necessity for close and deep investigation, and yet throughout the article never once tackles any essential or goes below the surface.

According to him, "the doubts and difficulties that haunt society to-day are of foreign extraction, and were in danger of destruction when crossing the Channel, but survived." That there was no necessity for "labour unrest" to cross the Channel is shown in his next paragraph, the customary reference to "England's immunity from war during the early portion of the nineteenth century, and her consequent growth of manufacture," conditions which, in themselves, breed the class struggle. "The industrial dispute threatens England's supremacy; yet perhaps a greater glory awaits her. Perhaps, amid a Europe weakened by class hatred and torn by labour convulsions, England may again show the world a way of social peace." The writer forgets that the conditions that breed class hatred on the Continent exist here in the same degree and from the same cause. The capitalist can only wish that a way may be discovered. His time-server, whether he be economist, labour leader, salvationist, or scientist, can only grope for a capitalist solution as the alchemist groped for the philosopher's stone. But while they flounder their time grows short. They may shirk the contest with the Marxian theory of value, or refer to the Socialist Party as an insignificant minority, but—and here we quote from the "Review": "In economics there is at least this merit about the truth—that, once proclaimed, it is sure in the end to prevail."

In order to prove to the workers that the "Socialist claim that they are being exploited is false, they must be taught economics." No longer can this be designated the dismal science, for we are assured: "It is a mistake to suppose that the working-men take no interest in economics. It would be more nearly the truth to say that, at this moment they take little interest in anything else." If "the truth once proclaimed is sure to prevail," then capitalism is indeed on its last legs, for economic truth is proclaimed in "Capital," and it is only an interested working class we wait for.

The capitalist and his journalistic hacks will consequently wish and grope in vain for a way out. It is utterly futile, also, to write of the Socialist movement as "the sedulous propagation of economic falsehood," because a fallacy can be exploded, while this braggart can only dance round the supposed fallacy, and leave a record of his utter inability to even understand the subject.

"The whole industrial system is arraigned.

Capitalism is cheating, exploitation," says he, is the doctrine taught. "It is their business to prove it, yet this is exactly what they never do." "They," are, doubtless, the labour leaders who either cannot or will not expose the system that fosters them, being content to mouth beliefs, and empty appeals for "justice" and "fairness." "What," asks the writer, "is the fair share of labour in the product of any industry? if the present wage, then there is no grievance. Then it must be something more. But how much more? No answer to these questions is ever attempted," he complains, "except by the full-blooded Socialist." Of whom else would he expect an answer?

Wealth, in the economic sense, has no existence until members of the working class have expended their energy on the different substances common to the earth's crust. That these substances belong to a small class in society, does not necessarily raise the question, "what is a fair wage?" but rather, why any class or section of society should own the means of life necessary to all? The "full-blooded Socialist" knows the answer to this; that is why he is politically organised for the establishment of a system of society where the means of wealth production will be owned and democratically controlled by those who use them.

The "Review," in common with all the anti-Socialist crowd, is particularly concerned that the workers, under Socialism, shall be treated with fairness—even as they are to day. So they timorously advance certain "insoluble questions."

Is the whole product of a factory only to be shared between the workers in that factory? or is it to be shared by all the workers in the land? And is each workman to share equally, irrespective of merit, or unequally? And if the latter, on what principle and by what authority are the shares to be assessed?

A five shilling review is dear at the price if it can serve up nothing better than this in defence of the class it caters for.

Ownership being in the hands of the people, there will the authority be, and the common interest of all, asserting itself, will speedily put an end to the anomalies of capitalist authority. "Fair" wages and low wages, soft jobs and speeding up, poverty in the midst of plenty, and all the other abuses that belong to capitalism in its normal state, will end when the working class cease to be mere articles of merchandise, picked and kicked about the labour market.

The "Candid" journalist has also many doubts and misgivings on the terms "The right to live" and "A living wage." He discusses these from many points of view, his perhaps, most brilliant and original remark being, "for happiness and influence in truth, do not depend on gold." After this and much more irrelevant

matter on rights and duties, he delivers himself of the following: "Wages are neither fair nor unfair; they are fixed either by personal benevolence or by mercantile bargain." As he cannot possibly claim benevolence for the employer who pays low wages, it follows that those who receive high wages are the recipients of charity. "Wages are neither fair nor unfair," is where he should have stopped, for, so far, he had not blundered.

Wage is the name for the price of labour power. Whether the wage be high or low there can be no question of fairness, because the employing class having the power, dictate wages and conditions. They first divorce the workers from the means of life, in order to compel them to sell their energy at the cost of living.

But what is the difference between the cost of living of the working class, as represented by wages, and the total wealth produced by them? Whether wages represent one-third or one-ninth it is obvious that the employing class only pay wages in order to obtain this surplus over the cost of maintenance of the working class. How then can wages be fair or unfair?

The wages system is one where the workers are threatened with starvation, either if they will not or cannot sell their only possession—the value-creating energy—for a mess of pottage; and that too, adulterated.

"Let us probe a little more deeply the allegation that the workman is being cheated." The reader need not fear getting out of his depth. Needless to say, the writer of the article merely emphasises certain inconsistencies and peculiarities of the capitalist system, without proving anything except its utter absurdity as a system for intelligent people to live under. Like the hysterical suffragette, he runs away from the question he raises, and flogs something else to hide his cowardice. "A universal proportion of wages to profits." The wages bill in some industries is he says, higher than the profits. "Moreover, inequalities exist side by side in the same industries in the amount of profit." These observations are as old as they are shallow. Examples of the poverty of argument against Socialism. The depths are not probed, for the total profits of every concern are not considered; and this would have been the surest way to ascertain whether the working class is robbed.

It is easy to see that in a competitive system differences in methods and management will produce different results. All that is proved is the inability of the capitalist class, with the assistance of politicians, economists, and scientists—to eliminate anarchy among themselves, and establish for themselves proportionate division of the spoil, by means of an even method of exploitation.

Any article on labour questions would, of course, be incomplete without a reference to co-

partnership. The "candid" writer is candid, besides being illuminating and instructive. He says:

"Co-partnership has been universally successful in achieving peace . . . and the striking thing is that it has achieved this peace without any great or even any noticeable increase in the wages paid. For it must be remembered that the income which a workman under such a scheme derives from his share in the profits is necessarily a very slight part of the whole wage, and that largely owing to the liability of that share to suffer in yield in bad times, his total effective wage is no greater than that of his fellows outside. But he is content because he has been convinced that he is not being robbed. How can he be when he elects a delegate to the board and has some actual voice in the management? It is clear, therefore, that the achievement of industrial peace is less a matter of raising wages than of convincing the workman that he is not being robbed. But as the workman (quite properly) will never consent to share in losses, its application is only possible to steadily successful concerns; it is never-the-less to be heartily welcomed as a temporary expedient of the highest value."

Quite a long paragraph, by the way, but reduced to simple language, it means that co-partnership workers, besides being robbed of the results of their labour—like other workers—are successfully bluffed as well.

Assuming that he has proved conclusively that the workers are not robbed, because some of them have been persuaded to believe so, the writer of the article next proceeds to show in what an Eldorado the worker really lives, according to his limited knowledge of actual conditions. Our author says:

"It is true that the individual workman without savings must sell his labour without undue delay; he is not bound to sell it to the first bidder. His strength as a bargainer depends partly on his reputation and skill as a craftsman, but mainly upon that close competition among his possible employers, which will enable him to laugh at one who offers him too low a wage."

A record of the number of such "laughs" would doubtless be interesting; but if it is true that occasionally a worker "with savings" can afford to pass by a job, it is equally true that the vast majority cannot, and are compelled to resign themselves to the first situation that is vacant, without bargaining or discussion—which, to the capitalist, is impudence.

Next we have something that is profound and original. The real cause of strikes is the desire of the trade unionist to get back the money he has paid in contributions. "After wages," he says, "have ruled high enough for long enough, a strike is nearly inevitable; since only so can the men re touch their money." What capacity for the detection of motives!

Then the scribe says: "In spite of all the theories of combination, one is always brought down to the individual workman. Is he or is he not to be forced, by the magistrate and the gaol, to work for wages which he himself does not approve? If so it is slavery."

This statement is clear and sweeping. It covers nearly the whole of the working class in every capitalist country on the globe. Discontent is universal. The workers in every occupation are slaves because at the bidding of the master class they must work for a mere subsistence—a wage they certainly do not "approve" of.

Throughout his long article the writer in the "Candid Review" has only succeeded in proving the incapacity of the capitalist class, with all their professional assistants, to run society on sane lines. Anarchy and poverty for the wealth producers, luxury and power for the idlers, are the nett result of capitalism. The only brilliant achievement of modern society is its marvellous productive and distributive power, developed by centuries of experiment and invention; and these are due to the working class. It is they who have done everything useful. It is they who use energy and intelligence in the production of all social wealth.

The scribbler in the "Candid Review" says that the workman should remember that the

end of his discontent is not the improvement of wages, but the fall of society, and if at the end of it all society does fall he will be instantly buried in its ruins.

We know different. The intelligence and capacity displayed by the workers on the field of production can be utilised by them for other purposes. When they have added knowledge to their intelligence they will establish a system of society where they will consume what they produce. Production is difficult; to consume is easy. To establish Socialism, it is true, requires an effort of which, however, an educated working class is easily capable. The fall of (capitalist) society—which cannot take place until the workers are educated—therefore, means the end of their slavery. F. F.

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF COLONISATION.

(Continued from last issue.)

"The great beauty of capitalist production," said Marx, "consists in this—that it not only constantly reproduces the wage-worker, but produces always in proportion to the accumulation of capital, a relative surplus population of wage workers. Thus the law of supply and demand is kept in the right rut, the oscillation of wages is penned within limits satisfactory to capitalist exploitation, and lastly, the social dependence of the labourer on the capitalist, that indispensable requisite, is secured." ("Capital," p. 794.)

In such "highly civilised" countries as England, France, or Germany, the organisation of wealth-production for profit, e.g., to the glory of capital and consequently in the sole interest of the possessors thereof, the capitalists, is to all intents and purposes complete. How "the poor," that is, the members of the working class, have been made, and are being made, to view as part and parcel of their "inevitable fate" the awful consequences, and notably the constantly harassing insecurity, resulting for them from such production; the apathy with which the male workers can see their manhood destroyed by suffering their wives and children to endure the most cruel privations and humiliations, especially in times of unemployment; the dull resignation with which they look forward to their "evening of life" and "honorable ease"—in the workhouse, if unable to depend on friendly or children's aid; in short, the readiness with which they accept their degradation and misery in the face of the most ostentatious display and squandering of the wealth they have produced; the success, on the other hand, with which the chloroforming fetishes and superstitions of patriotism, religion, hero-worship, etc., are inculcated; also the respect shown to the "strong arm of the law" and the rest of the foul institutions of oppression: all these things, which clearly demonstrate the "superiority of 'our' working class," must constitute a source of great gratification and felicity to our masters.

It would almost seem that, unlike all preceding stages and forms of human co-existence, the capitalist system is to last for ever and ever, were it not for the discontented and strife-stirring Socialist. Only the latter, indeed, will not see that property and profit are far more sacred than human life, and will not recognise that without capitalist "enterprise" the working class would be in a worse way.

No wonder that, with such queer notions as these, we are also credited with being unqualified to duly appreciate the great Christian work of systematic up-"lifting" organised by our pious masters, under great difficulties, in the colonies. Nevertheless, we realise at least the difficulties of their task, knowing, as we do, that man has a rooted objection to being robbed.

It is notorious, and has already been referred to here, that the arrival abroad of the enterprising pioneer of civilisation has been marked everywhere by obstinate resistance on the part of the "uncivilised" natives, and that, more than at home (where the conditions satisfactory to capitalist exploitation are already at hand), the "necessity" for wage-labour has to be constantly demonstrated by the display and frequent appli-

cation of the full strength of the arm of the law. Brute force, in fact, plays the chief part in the process of "converting" the natives to serve God Capital, in other words, into wage-slaves. The missionary, as already said, forms only the cloak, the *avant-garde* of the bourgeoisie, behind which lurks an agent a thousand times more powerful and convincing than the silly "Word of God," to wit—the gun. By blood and infamies, deceit and vile trickery, in which the agents of the bourgeois parasites are well versed, the separation of the natives from their own conditions of labour and means of subsistence is effected, and thus is secured the exchange of their liberty for that ominous capitalist "freedom," which is so well and so "profitably" to the capitalists and their hacks established at home, and which only the wicked Socialist does not enjoy.

It will not be necessary for our purpose to refer here to more than the previously mentioned bloody expeditions to one of the continents overseas, namely Africa, and it will also be sufficient to quote from only a few of the colonial capitalist mouthpieces to prove our contention that the object of colonisation is, besides confiscation of the natural resources, the forcible subjection and exploitation of the natives. Moreover, the history of one colony only reflects what, in the main, has been and is going on in the rest of the capitalistically backward countries, so soon as they have been discovered to possess things convertible into exchange-values, and men ignorant of, and uninfected with, the blessings of civilisation and Christianity. And since enough is known in these islands about the dirty work that its greedy millionaire Empire-builders have accomplished abroad, the experience in colonies of their rivals, the Germans, may serve as evidence in support of our foregoing statements.

Although with Bismarck's "blood and iron policy" before them, and in spite of the sacrifice of at least 150,000 innocent human beings (as stated in the German Reichstag on 4th March, 1913) on the altar of "Kultur" and civilisation since the arrival of the German "Kulturträger" in Africa a generation ago, the organisation of capitalist production there is as yet very incomplete. In the vast tropical territories of Africa, which the German has set himself to open up and colonise, the control over, or—in bourgeois terms—the "freedom" of, the native workers is still far from being in the right groove; these men are scattered about and can still escape from dependency on the capitalist for their means of subsistence—to mention only one difficulty. It is doubtful whether even the genius of Lloyd George could devise a scheme delivering those men more speedily and inexorably into a better grip of the Christian employers.

Unlike the modern proletariat, many of those natives can still manage to return to their wonted mode of living, and so disappear from the labour market, to the great chagrin of the colonist. Hence, the great controversies raging in the colonial Press, in the Reichstag, and elsewhere, around the "labour-problem"—the problem being, of course, to secure a greater and more regular supply of those wonderful men, who,—as the learned Dr. P. Rohrbach has discovered (Luderitzbucht Zeitung 27.3.1914)—"possess a large amount of labour-power—in fact, FAR MORE THAN IS USED UP—ON AN AVERAGE, FOR PROVIDING THEIR ORDINARY AND VERY PRIMITIVE REQUIREMENTS OF SUBSISTENCE." (From the connection in which the above words appear, it is evident that their author is entirely unconscious of the fact that he is referring here to the greatest of all human discoveries, seeing that the bourgeoisie owes its existence, and capitalist enterprise its stimulus, to this same surplus labour. This is certainly fortunate for him, bearing in mind the fate of one economist for putting in almost the same formula his discovery of the sole source of—PROFIT.)

More direct compulsion and recruiting is, according to some colonial experts, necessary, while others clamour for more indirect pressure to make the natives yield their precious surplus labour-power. "There must be no false weakness," says Rohrbach, while numerous other learned toads are equally loud in their denunciations of "misplaced humanitarianism in connection with the labour question," and the

justification given for advocating such direct constraint is that: "In Europe and all other advanced countries everybody (meaning naturally the working class) is compelled to surrender their full energy to work and a great many must toil beyond their physical capability." (Luderitzbucht Zeitung 27.3.1914). This after centuries of civilisation and "progress"!

Professor Anton, in an article on the "Labour Question," which appeared last April in the "Koloniale Rundschau"—the organ of the German Association for the protection (!) of the Natives—and was widely circulated in the Colonies, says that "Since the colonising people cannot wait until the higher requirements, or over-population and hunger, induce the natives to constant work in the service of others, there is no alternative but to substitute direct compulsion for the unwillingness of the natives to do work for their foreign masters." As Anton admits, on the same occasion, "free labour" is besides by no means an exclusive condition today in the tropical colonies, . . . as all colonial authorities avail themselves of direct compulsion on an extensive scale." In fact, where necessary, the Divisional Magistrates in certain districts of East Africa compulsorily procure workers for plantations, as can be proved from a confidential circular to planters' associations, which says in effect: "The Authority is prepared, as hitherto, to procure, through the medium of the native chiefs, to every European enterprise as many workers as possible from the neighbouring native communities." ("Usambara Post," 16.5.14.)

Besides the existence of direct compulsion, there is in most of the tropical countries the unscrupulous professional labour-recruiter, and it is obvious and has repeatedly been admitted, that the recruiting does not always take place of the natives' own accord and free will, but that thousands of defenceless and ignorant blacks fall victims to the cunning, fraudulent, crafty, underhand expedients of those ignoble "procurers." Small wonder, then, that when the so deceived natives discover what has happened, and become troublesome or run away, they fall from misfortune to misfortune, and thus provide the gutter-Press at home occasionally with the means to work up a circulation at the expense of their sufferings.

To meet half-way the above mentioned apostle of over-population and hunger, Herr Eduard Woermann, the wealthy Hamburg financier, who is "largely interested in the colonies," has given a sum of 6,000 Marks as a prize to the Colonial Institute for the best treatise on the following question:

"Through which practical steps can the German Colonies obtain an increase in the birth rate and a decrease in the infantile mortality amongst the native population—THE ECONOMICALLY MOST VALUABLE MOTIVE-POWER of our colonies?"

The result of the competition, which is to be published next year, will no doubt provide us with more details of what is to constitute those people's increased happiness. Meanwhile we can appreciate the modesty of this shining light of capitalism to have kept silent about the necessity of the capitalist in the process of wealth-production. Or could it be that Herr Woermann has nothing to learn from the modern "economists"? What about Directive Ability?

The majority of our colonial enthusiasts, of course, would rather see more indirect methods, notably hunger, permanently established amongst the natives, and so get the (sufficient) supply of "motive-power" (at home known as "hands") into that automatically working way which, as Marx says, is the great beauty of capitalist production. They know that direct and legal forms of compulsion are "attended with too much trouble, violence, noise" and, last but not least, expense; while hunger, for example, is a "peaceable, silent, unremitted pressure," just as Woermann realises what a great blessing is the existence of a large industrial reserve army.

And lest there might be any doubt about the motive underlying all efforts and controversial proposals, whatever their nature or source, we give room to the declaration of the "Deutsch Ostafrikanische Zeitung" which appeared prominently in their organ (4.6.1913) as a state-

ment of their position and policy in the matter of the "labour problem."

It says literally:

"It may be briefly recalled that the policy of our friends in the North had caused a renewed flaring up of the rising of 1905-1907, which has only just been suppressed with great sacrifices in blood and money. It must now be openly admitted that the insubordination of the Wamwera and Wandonde tribes, the general rising of the Wamakonde and Wamaraba, . . . had been caused through the preliminary steps taken by the Government in compulsorily recruiting natives as plantation workers. . . . We do not advocate general compulsory recruiting of workers through the Government, because it is impracticable, but demand instead the exercise of a persistent direct pressure—differentiated according to the individuality of the particular communities—A PRESSURE WHICH WILL MAKE THE MILLIARD VALUES SLUMBERING IN THE INACTIVE ARMS OF THE NATIVES, ACCESSIBLE TO THE GERMAN NATIONAL WEALTH."

For national wealth, read—capitalist class.

There is the truth about the hypocritical cry of "Kultur" in a nutshell—"Kultur," indeed, if thereby they mean exploitation and robbery, naked and unashamed!

It is proposed to deal subsequently more in detail with some of the methods in operation and advocated, which supply, and are intended to supply, the pressure necessary for the "education" and accelerated "advancement" of the natives into the abyss of—wage-slavery.

FRANK.

(To be Continued.)

A SOCIALIST SURVEY.

We were taught at school that England is a free country. On reaching maturer years, however, we discover this to be a distortion of the truth. It all depends upon a person's economic status. If he is rich he is free—comparatively. He is free to sweat and grind his poorer "brethren," to maim and murder them in mines and pits, to butcher them in shunting yards, to drown them in over-burdened ships, to torture and burn them in rubber forests, to run them down and leave them mangled on the highways, and to starve and outrage and seduce them at will, within very wide limits and at a very low price. If he is poor, however, he possesses no freedom: in any sense of the word. He is not free to work; he is not free to starve; he is not free to beg; he is not free to steal. He is even "pinched" if he tries to get off the earth.

I am reminded of this by the case of a man named Carter, aged 53 (far too old to work according to capitalist employers, and far too young for an old age pension according to those employers' politicians), who was charged at the Salford Quarter Sessions with "wandering abroad to beg alms." This, of course, was a heinous offence, and he was asked to retire under the care of His Majesty for a period of twelve months!

All that is necessary to ensure the success of any scheme of a "charitable" nature is to back it up with the name of some big figurehead of society, royal or otherwise. One of the latest schemes for parting fools from their money is that known as Alexandra Day. Hardly had the wage-slaves clutched the miserable pittance known as "wages," when they were asked to "spare just a copper" for the odiferous cause of charity. And the way in which thousands of poor fools tumbled over each other in their eagerness to respond would be amusing were it not so tragic. It is estimated that in Manchester alone the receipts from the sale of roses totalled nearly £4,000. What a lot of plasters this sum will buy for the covering up of capitalist sores!

It is the fashion now a-days when performing some public function or other, for our noble masters to make some reference to the social conditions of to-day. They pretend a knowledge even when they don't possess it. A few

carefully chosen, high sounding words usually serve the purpose that of impressing their hearers (especially the Press) with the profundity of their "knowledge."

Earl Grey, in laying the foundation stone of a new institute at Liverpool recently, must have taxed his cerebral tissue to its utmost capacity in order to treat the gathering to the following: "Those who believed that the ownership of property was a trust whose administration was of vital importance to the prosperity and progress of the country, were under a special obligation to take a share in the task of finding solutions for the social and economic problems which confront us."

Sounds all right when you say it quickly, doesn't it? All the same, I don't see that it matters whether they do or not. The task of finding a solution is not so difficult as the noble windbag seems to think. As a matter of fact, the solution is already found, without the help of Earl Grey or the property owners. The "social and economic problems" are problems no longer as Earl Grey and his class will discover before very long. Has he never heard of Socialism?

* * *

Speaking in his constituency a few days ago, Mr. J. R. Clynes referred to the "enormous taxation" borne by the workers. "Session after session," he avowed, "the Labour Party have put forward in connection with the Finance Bill, proposals to wipe out the whole of the duties resting upon common foodstuffs such as tea, sugar, and currants, and which amount to about ten millions sterling, mainly coming from the pockets of the working class."

No wonder the capitalists support the Labour Party if this is what they stand for. Abolish the food taxes and you render a great service to those largest of wage-payers—the manufacturers and distributors—since it would enable them to reduce wages.

Mr. Clynes' point of view is wrong, of course. If it were true that the workers paid taxes, then they would be ten millions in pocket from the abolition of food taxes alone. Is Mr. Clynes prepared to make this claim?

* * *

Mr. Will Thorne has got the same complaint. Speaking in the Newton Division (Lancs.) he stated that the Labour Party had never moved from their determination of putting the burden of taxation on the rich. They had declared for the abolition of all food taxes, and they intended to keep "banging away" until they had got them removed.

It is hard to believe that these people do not know that it is the rich who pay the taxes and not the poor. In any case they are people who ought to know better. While such are allowed to stand in the limelight, so long will the workers be dazzled by the rays which emanate from these "lights," and which, after all, are only the reflections of capitalist economics. Hence the confusion.

* * *

Mr. Emil Davies, the Nationalisation "expert," has been propounding for the benefit of the "Daily Citizen" readers, a scheme whereby will be secured what he calls "a just wage" for the worker. As usual, it is a State project, based upon ethical lies.

Mr. Davies believes that "municipalities or State departments are, in a large measure, released from the necessity of making big continuous profits, and are freer to consider the interests of those who are working under it."

A scheme based upon such a belief as this would have just about the solidity the "Daily Citizen" and its dupes look for. But enquiry of the Leeds and other corporation employees might disturb the equanimity of those who hold that municipalities are "freer to consider the interests" of those who work under them.

* * *

A writer in the "Daily Chronicle" (29.7.14) outlining the probable results of the threatened war says: "perhaps the working classes, hitherto so loyal and patriotic, will turn savagely against the powers that be. Let us all, whatever our party, stand together and do what we can to avert this menacing disaster."

TOM SALA.

Daw or anyone else give any evidence to support this claim? We say they cannot. It is largely baseless assertion. It is true that the bulk of the trade unions' funds are deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank to meet their current liabilities; but these having been already reckoned in the trade unions' funds, should be deducted from the Post Office account. Again, a number of business men put money in the Post Office, while, where competition is keen, or some scheme of bankruptcy is contemplated, the funds are often deposited in the names of the various members of the family. Where workers do put any savings in the bank, these, as we said before, are only the few pence scraped off the wages to provide against serious sickness or unemployment. It would be useless for this purpose in the form of shares in a factory, for it could not be turned into cash when wanted.

But all these stale old quibbles of Mr. Daw are quite beside the point. It is a sheer dirty insult to tell the working class, who are robbed of the whole of the means of wealth production—means of production which they alone fashion and operate—that they should pinch and starve themselves a little more to put their tiny mite into a factory or works. Let the workers stop the robbery and take possession of what is rightly theirs—the means necessary to live.

The question of the inventor and machinery has already been fully met in the June and July issues of the "S.S." Our opponent, instead of trying to meet the refutation given to his previous statement, merely repeats it like a parrot. As to it being difficult to rob an inventor, only an appalling ignorance of the history of inventions could excuse so false a statement. From the day when Arkwright robbed Paul Kay to the time when Carnegie robbed John Breslin the growth of modern industry has shown countless instances of inventors being robbed of their discoveries by capitalists.

Note first that the onus is thrown on the inventor to prove his claim. The capitalists' agents, the lawyers, raise every technical point and quibble the laws are so prolific of, and often in cases where the inventor does go to law he loses on some small legal shuffle that does not concern the essential questions at all. John Breslin was unable to pay the fees for hearing the case in the Court of Appeal. Even the mere stamps for the documents cost more than many working men can pay.

As for our patent laws being defective, we have only to point to the fact that to take out a full patent costs about £100, and most inventors would be glad of a hundred pence by the time they have worked out their drawings and made their models. The law is most effective—for the capitalists!

We are then told that "There is as much skill necessary to conduct a business as is required to invent a machine," and that "the capitalist has to exercise his ingenuity throughout his career."

The careful reader will see that there is absolutely no connection between these two statements. If Mr. Daw means to suggest—for he does not say it—that the capitalist "conducts" or manages his business we have already denied this in our first statement of our case. All the management of business, as well as the manipulation of machinery, is done by wage-slaves—a fact Thomas Lipton admitted to the shareholders of Liptons Ltd. when referring to the Army canteen scandals.

After having proved how little Mr. Daw understands Marx, it is rather refreshing to be referred to the portion we ourselves quoted. We never said that weight determined or measured value. We simply pointed out that Mr. Daw's illogical and confused statements on utility being the measure of value, because it always had to be present, was similar to saying that volume measured weight instead of density. Simple as our explanation was it was evidently beyond our opponent's mental capacity.

Whenever two things are compared in any science or sphere some basis has to be taken to measure from. We may compare yards of silk with pounds of coffee or tons of iron or ounces of gold, and it is evident to the poorest intelligence that, having taken a given unit to begin with, it must be kept throughout the calculation. Gold is usually dealt with in small quantities, and the ounce is the unit of weight generally used in England. Now take our illustration.

Why does a given quantity of gold—say an ounce—not exchange for the same quantity of bread? Every schoolboy knows that an enormous number of ounces of bread (over 12,000), usually reckoned in multiples called pounds, exchanges for one ounce of gold; yet the utility of one ounce of bread is much greater than that of one ounce of gold. It is simply idiotic for Mr. Daw to say that weight has nothing to do with it. He must take some unit quantity for comparison or obviously he cannot compare at all. The particular unit he chooses does not affect the question in the slightest. Let him take equal volumes if he prefers; still the same dilemma faces him. Why does a bushel of gold exchange for a large number of bushels of bread, despite the greater utility in the latter?

Note how Mr. Daw shuffles round this point by failing to give the slightest indication of how utility can be measured. Yet indeterminately as he leaves it, he tries to claim it determines value.

His last point on machinery and steam has already been fully met in our June issue. Instead of looking at our reply Mr. Daw merely repeats statements that have already been pulverised. Discovery of machinery and steam power and the manipulation of these forces are entirely due to the working class, not to the capitalists.

This debate has been successful in exposing another empty braggart—an agent of the capitalist class—who, evidently lacking the ability to understand the Socialist case, sets up as a powerful critic and demolisher of the "Red Spectre." This claim sounded very well until he met the Socialists, and then his empty boast and pitiful lack of even an elementary knowledge of Socialism were fully exposed.

No one, whether a member of the capitalist class or a renegade from the workers' ranks, has yet shown a flaw in the case for Socialism, because it is based upon the irrefutable facts of social life and development. Its propaganda steadily grows. The way in which the various agents of the master class, in pulpit and in Press, in the political field and in the economic arena, are all shrieking against Socialism, proves not only what progress its propaganda is making, but also the hate and dread in which the capitalist class hold the force that will wipe them out of existence. Ed. Com.

CATHOLIC DEMOCRACY.

How significant the word democracy has become! Kings, State and church ministers, politicians, and even employers say they are out for the benefit of the people. Now the Catholic Church, a remnant of feudal society, also toes the line in this respect.

How queer! The same church that was responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of human beings who would not submit to her, and for the death of such pioneers of public speech as Servetus, Bruno, and Ferrer (see Professor Burry's "History of Freedom of Thought"), is now attempting to capture the heart of democracy! Why is this?

In feudal society the Catholic Church was representative of that society. About a third of the land and stock, the giving of alms, and learning, were monopolised by her. But with the coming of the bourgeois revolution in England in the seventeenth century, its power declined. The capitalist class, who were in need of science and a free course in the productive processes, crippled her. No longer could the Church have the full sway she possessed in feudal times.

In England, though, the weak-kneed capitalists had not the necessary courage to uproot society and destroy its root and branch. They made a compromise with the aristocratic or land-owning class, and through this the Catholic Church was allowed to remain.

With the development of capitalist conditions, however, the capitalist class saw clearly that if they wished to keep the workers in subjection they must instil into their minds religion, i.e., belief in an eternal future. Since the inauguration of capitalism we find ever so many religious sects springing up by the side of the old Church in all capitalist countries.

The Catholic Church, then, since it is existing in capitalist society, must have some special

use for the capitalist class, and right well do the heads of this Church see that this is so.

The Church does not say, according to Father Day (who has written a book called "Catholic Democracy, Individualism, and Socialism"), that the capitalist revolution has not had its good qualities—it is the awful reign of terror and its consequences that the Church condemns.

Father Day says (p. 4): "for though the revolutionary movement [French revolution] contained elements of good, and eventually resulted in good, bringing about, amongst other things, the overthrow of a corrupt and oppressive aristocracy, and the emancipation of suffering and down-trodden people, it was, in reality, the outcome of a blind, popular passion rather than a rationally controlled emotion."

Of course, it would not do to say that the capitalist revolution was "against the will of God," for look at the good positions these Catholic priests hold.

Again, the Catholic Church is serving the ruling class by preaching to the workers that Catholic democracy alone will save them from the abominable conditions of their slave state. And what, pray, is this Catholic democracy? Anything that will help the workers? Well, let Pope Leo XII., as quoted by Father Day, answer this question.

"What social democracy means and what Christian democracy ought to mean does not admit of doubt. The former, more or less extreme as the case may be, is by many carried to such wicked extravagances as to reckon human satisfaction supreme, and to acknowledge nothing higher; to pursue bodily and natural goods only, and to make the whole happiness of man consist in attaining and enjoying them. Such persons would place the supreme power of the State indiscriminately in the hands of the masses of the people. Moreover, they would abolish all distinctions of rank, and make all citizens equal, in order that all might equally have access to the good things of life. They would likewise do away with ownership, confiscate private fortunes, and socialise the instruments of labour. But Christian democracy ought to have as its foundation the principles laid down by divine faith, having regard, indeed, to the temporal advantage of the poorer and less educated, but designing therewith to fit their minds for the enjoyment of the things eternal. Accordingly, to Christian democracy let there be nothing more sacred than law and right; let it bid the right of having and holding inviolate; let it maintain the diversity of ranks which properly belongs to a well-ordered State." (Pages 13-14.)

To show the Church's respect for the capitalist class the Pope is quoted as follows by Father Day:

"God forbid that under the name of Christian democracy should lie the surreptitious aim of throwing off all obedience and turning away from those in lawful authority. The law of nature no less than that of Christ, enjoins respect for all such as in their several degrees hold office in the State, and further enjoins obedience to their lawful commands."

It will be seen from the foregoing that there is no attempt to conceal the nature of Catholic democracy. The Church is on the side of the masters, it must therefore, be antagonistic to the workers, because the master class and the working class are in conflict.

But do not think that Father Day is without his reasons for opposing Socialism. He meets all the arguments of Socialists, not excepting Karl Marx.

The pity of it all is, however, that our reverend Father gets so hopelessly mixed up. At one time he will say that such an one is no Socialist, and will next proceed to quote him as a Socialist. For instance, on page 112 he says:

"As far as it is a constructive system at all Bernstein's revisionism is not Socialism, but a system of social reform on the basis of modern Liberalism. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is its present exponent in England."

He afterwards quotes MacDonald and his clique as representing Socialist opinion in this country.

In proceeding to attack Karl Marx's theories Father Day tackles him firstly on "equality." He (the priest) cannot understand how class

distinctions arise from the economic conditions existing at a given period. No, he says, "class distinctions in most cases spring directly from 'unequal talents and capacities,' and are, like them, 'privileges of nature.'" True, as soon as society is rid of its parasites, the class who to-day is not equal to the task of working will cease to exist.

He next goes on to criticise Marx's theory of surplus-value, and attacks it, one must suppose, from the social labour-time theory. Says the priest (p. 134):

"People buy objects on account of their usefulness, their worth or fitness to afford them pleasure. These qualities accordingly are the chief factors in determining the prices or the commercial value of the goods. The labour force expended in making them is a matter of quite secondary consideration. At the same time, inasmuch as it forms a part of the cost of production, it must, of course, be paid for by the purchaser. Also good workmanship, as far as it results in better qualities in articles produced, has the effect of enhancing prices. But mere embodied labour is no real measure of worth. Were it a real measure we should have to judge artificial jewelry as being more valuable than real jewelry, and bad art as often superior to good. The theory of 'surplus value' is therefore baseless, and falls to the ground."

It is clear from the preceding, as well as subsequent extracts from his effusions, e.g., his definition of capital on page 260, that he has never understood capitalist wealth.

In capitalist society wealth takes on the commodity form. Undoubtedly a commodity must have a use value, but its use value can only be realised when it falls out of circulation, when, in a word, it is consumed and functions no more. In the process of exchange, therefore, it is only exchange value that can be taken into account. It is the average social labour time that is necessary to be expended on the production of commodities that determines their value. Nothing else can be attributed as a basis of value. Even if we could measure the value of a commodity by its utility—which we cannot do, for it is impossible to say how many times more useful is an umbrella than a pair of braces, for example—it would not apply at the point of exchange, for we cannot know the usefulness of an article until we have used it. Again, the question of rare art does not apply to the average wealth of society; and that there is more average socially necessary labour time in what Father Day calls "artificial" jewelry than in his so-called "real" jewelry is an assertion he should condescend to prove before he claims it as a fact.

Thus it will be seen the priestly champion of capitalism does not in any way touch Marx's position, whilst his own case is fallacious.

Next Father Day treats with Marx's theory of the materialist conception of history in a rather humorous fashion, at least, from the Socialist standpoint. He says (p. 139):

"A further general basis of the Socialist theory, not altogether relinquished, is the material conception of history which Marx had developed from the doctrine of Comte and Herbert Spencer [elsewhere Marx and Spencer are said to have borrowed from Comte. Rather funny that the materialist ideas of Comte should have shaped the materialism of Marx, whilst Spencer's evolutionary works came out rather too late in the day for the Socialist philosopher to borrow from.] According to this conception, the production and exchange of wealth are held to be the sole determining factors of the evolution of social life and of the growth of the whole of civilisation. Society, laws, politics, morals, and religion, are simply the outgrowth of economic conditions. The doctrine is flagrantly untrue, and clearly has no value except from the standpoint of downright materialism. If man has a purely material being, and is without any spiritual faculty, it might then be claimed that civilization depended on material causes. But granted that man is endowed with spiritual soul, then it at once becomes evident that economic conditions, which are the chance circumstances of barter and exchange, cannot be the ultimate cause of all social development. Religion and moral ideas are an immensely more powerful cause in shaping social development than all the

forces of industrial and economic conditions."

It need hardly be mentioned that this is merely barking the question. Father Day must prove before we grant it that there is a spiritual being. He had a chance of doing that when he quoted our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion" on pages 177-181 of his own book, but he seemed to wish to get out of the conflict.

For us religion has no meaning, except as an instrument used by the master class to keep the workers in ignorance. People living in a savage state, where scientific knowledge is unknown, can be excused for being religious; but to day, when the forces of nature are so largely understood and controlled by man, and when fresh discoveries are the daily fruits of scientific research, there can be little or no excuse for such ignorance and superstition.

Father Day has the cheek—or the blindness—to attempt to defend the "anarchy of production" as Engels called it, obtaining in the present capitalist mode of production. On page 151 he says:

"Thus workmen and manufacturers offer their services and commodities when and where a rise in wages or prices indicates an understocked market and the chance of a favourable bargain; and when these circumstances are reversed, they withhold them. Purchasers and employers, on the contrary, look out for an overstocked market in order to obtain for themselves the most favourable terms. By this process of individual choice and effort social supply and demand are automatically determined, whilst at the same time labour and distribution are naturally adjusted and organised."

How beautiful! In the first place, can the workers even combined, withhold their labour force for any great length of time, until the labour market demands a big supply of workers? We know very well that the workers, possessing practically nothing but their power to labour, must sell this as soon as possible, or else they will perish of starvation.

Again, do the workers always find a master? We know that through the system of production which Father Day eulogises, there appears after a mad run of production, the crisis. By a system in which each individual producer seeks to get rich as quickly as he can there is produced such an abundance of commodities that a crash occurs. The market is choked with goods and no more are needed; production ceases and workmen are thrown out idle; manufacturers who have not enough to tide over the crisis are ruined, and help to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Because warehouses and store rooms are crammed with the things the workers have produced and are in need of, they must go without them.

Capitalism, then, suffers from over-production, and not from under-production, as R. B. Suthers of Tariff Reform "Clarion" fame would have it in criticising Father Day upon this point.

Under Socialism, according to our reverend Father, the people would not have the brains to carry on production. Presumably not, since all the wisards of society, including Catholic priests, would be no more.

From amongst a whole mish-mash of wild assertions occur such glaring errors as the attribution to Arkwright of the spinning jenny invented by Hargreaves; and in one place Marx is spoken of as a State Socialist, then Engels, the co-worker of Marx, in another place shows the State to be superfluous in a Socialist regime.

The best pages of Father Day's book are those which refer to our pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," and to our Declaration of Principles.

When the workers get to understand those principles they will no longer uphold the capitalist system and the horrible conditions of life it means for them; but by organising themselves "consciously and politically," they will usher in the Socialist regime, when the workers will come to their own. L. M.

BIRMINGHAM.

All sympathisers with the Party in the Birmingham district who require information as to joining, etc., should communicate with E. JESPER, 74 MURDOCK ROAD, HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM.

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"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
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Clapton, N., Kensington Rd.	7.30 A. Wallis	G. Seech	C. Baggett	E. Fairbrother	A. Jacobs
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	R. Reynolds	A. Bays	A. Pearson
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Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 A. Leslie	S. Blake	A. Cox	J. Brown	A. Barker
Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle	11.30 W. Pass	A. Kohn	G. Seech	A. L. Cox	A. Barker
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" "	7.30 A. L. Cox	A. Bays	A. Jacobs	G. Seech	H. Joy
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Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Lobb	A. Pearson	B. Young
" "	7.30 A. Bays	A. Wallis	C. Elliott	H. Joy	C. Baggett
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Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Reynolds	B. Young	J. Ward	J. Brown
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 Kilburn, Victoria Rd., 8. Walthamstow, Hoe St. Station, 8.30.
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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership, form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

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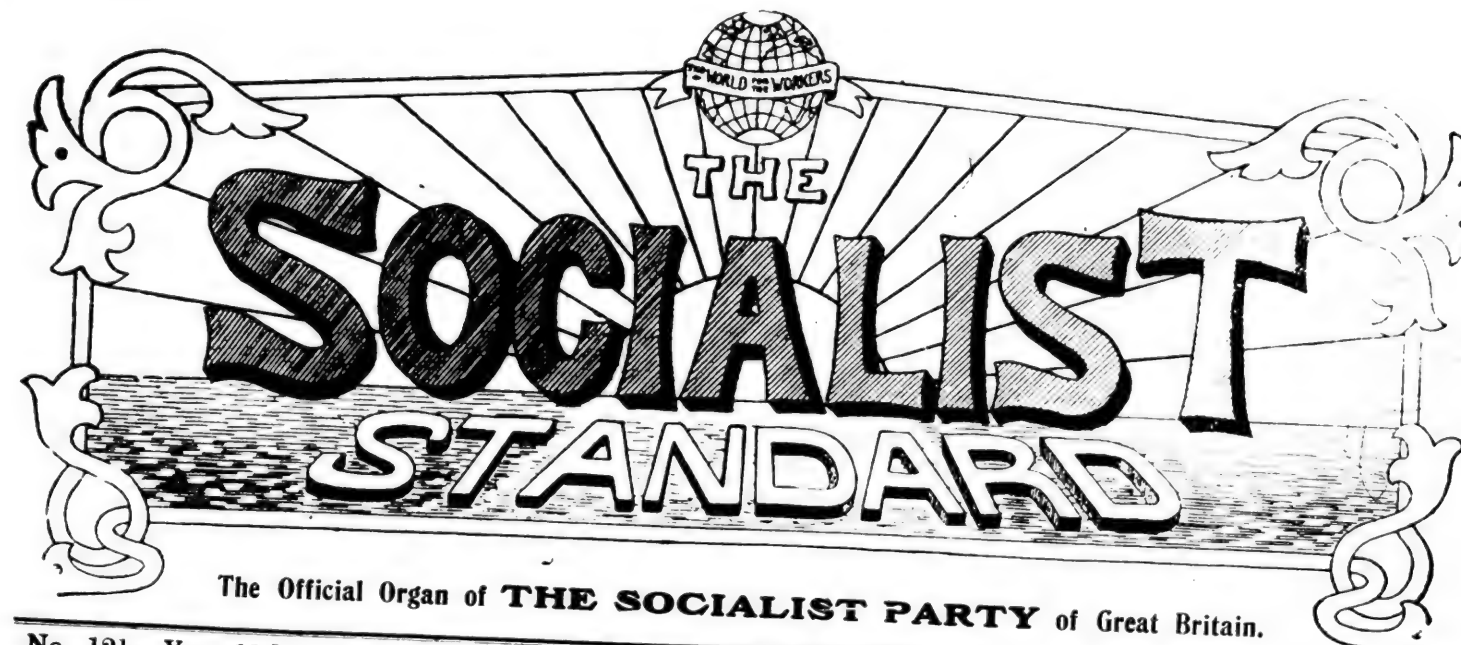
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LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE WAR, AND THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

Whereas The capitalists of Europe have quarrelled over the questions of the control of trade routes and the world's markets, and are endeavouring to exploit the political ignorance and blind passions of the working class of their respective countries in order to induce the said workers to take up arms in what is solely their masters' quarrel, and

Whereas further, the pseudo-Socialists and labour "leaders" of this country, in common with their fellows on the Continent, have again betrayed the working-class position, either through their ignorance of it, their cowardice, or worse, and are assisting the master class in utilising this thieves' quarrel to confuse the minds of the workers and turn their attention from the Class Struggle,

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain seizes the opportunity of re-affirming the Socialist position, which is as follows :

That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in Society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a **CLASS WAR**, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exist only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers.

These armed forces, therefore, will only be set in motion to further the interests of the class who control them—the master class—and as the workers' interests are not bound up in the struggle for markets wherein their masters may dispose of the wealth they have stolen from them (the workers), but in the struggle to end the system under which they are robbed, they are not concerned with the present European struggle, which is already known as the "**BUSINESS**" war, for it is their masters' interests which are involved, and not their own.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, pledges itself to keep the issue clear by expounding the **CLASS STRUGGLE**, and whilst placing on record its abhorrence of this latest manifestation of the callous, sordid and mercenary nature of the international capitalist class, and declaring that no interests are at stake justifying the shedding of a single drop of working-class blood, enters its emphatic protest against the brutal and bloody butchery of our brothers of this and other lands, who are being used as food for cannon abroad while suffering and starvation are the lot of their fellows at home.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS!

August 25th 1914.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

**WAGE WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE! You have nothing to lose
but your chains, you have a world to win!—Marx.**

WHY SOCIAL REFORM IS USELESS.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has all along claimed that the only solution for the social diseases rampant in capitalist society is Socialism. The professional "Socialists" of the B.S.P. and I.L.P. type, whilst claiming the same in a somewhat misty and hazy manner, seek always to put some pet scheme of social reform before the working class. They are not alone, however, in their schemes of reform, for the capitalist class are well in the front as far as reform is concerned. The consequence of this being that some reformers who are able to hold their situations cling more tightly to the governing class, whilst others not so fortunate have jumped to the other end and have become anarchists, or what is the same, syndicalists.

Reform, to-day, chiefly through the activities of the politicians of the master class, has become very popular with the mass, many regarding it as eventually being capable of removing the anomalies of existing society.

Let us, therefore, see what reform has already accomplished for the workers; we shall then have an idea what to expect from the effects of reform in the future.

Before examining these reforms, however, let us, very briefly, look upon those people who are especially interested in social reform.

First of all there is the sentimentalist, who, without any reason at all, is always wailing about the afflicted and poverty-stricken, so much so that he is absolutely blinded by his own tears from seeing the true state of affairs. Then there is the petty bourgeois reformer, the small capitalist, who at times may describe himself as a "Socialist," but is always showing his fear of Socialism, for in his ignorance he believes that Socialists will confiscate what little property he may have—it may be his wedding ring or in some cases his house. Then again, we have the professional politician whose business it is to pander to the "mob." In his cunning way he will invent all sorts of nostrums for the people, who, through their ignorance, are led to believe now one set of politicians, now another set, never realising that they are being hoodwinked by them all.

How these humbugs have been using the Home Rule for Ireland red herring to befoul the mass is at once a comedy and a tragedy. And yet people will go on believing, in their simplicity, that the so-called leaders of the opposition and the Government are serious in their manoeuvres. They cannot see that it is merely a means to keep the workers divided and ignorant of their true social status.

The many reforms one might mention, instead of benefiting, injure the workers. One of the pet reforms of the sentimentalists is the "feeding of the school children." Now, every sane man and woman wishes to see children fed; but we cannot afford to allow sentiment to get the better of our reason. We know that those who possess children wish to feed their children by their own effort. State grants merely make, in most cases, subservient wage-slaves of those who receive them, thus making the work of the Socialist more difficult.

But what of the economic effect of such a measure? Why, a woman who has children to look after, by paying a small sum of money to "farm" out her youngest child whilst her elder children are being fed at school, is enabled to go to the factory or mill and be exploited at a low wage as married women are known to be.

The Old Age Pension scheme is another Act that has benefited the capitalists immensely. For whereas it costs to maintain a pauper something like fourteen shillings a week, they manage to get the aged State pauper to exist on five shillings. The Compensation Act seems on the face of it to be of much value to the worker. By being crippled or maimed they are sometimes able to get a certain sum of money as compensation. It may be true that in individual cases the Act has had some advantage for the worker. But it is hardly necessary to day to repeat the facts of "too old at forty," or a man with a slight injury not engaged, or if engaged, then at a lower rate of pay. The Compensation Act is a very good Act—for the capitalists.

We shall not talk of the Labour Exchanges,

for even the over liberal-labour M.P.'s who at the inception of the bill claimed it to be Messiah itself, are now calling them "blackleg institutions."

The Insurance Act again, compels the workers to submit to be mulcted of a certain sum of money so that they may keep going a lot of well-paid officials who are to ticket and number them and keep them in their respective grades.

The "Health" Insurance Act is a direct affront to the workers. It says it can prevent sickness; it can do no such thing. Disease is bred by the conditions under which the workers must toil and live; only Socialism can ensure healthy working and living conditions. Those who supported the "Health" Insurance Act avow by their action that they are the direct enemies of the working class.

Then there is the class of reformers who advocate the nationalising and municipalising of private enterprises, such as the railways, trams, etc. Here, again, we find that where national undertakings are in existence the lot of the workers engaged in those concerns is very little, if any, better than the wage-slaves in private firms. We know how the postal employees fare in the hands of a capitalistic government; how the municipal workers of Leeds, Blackburn, and Dublin have been treated by unscrupulous and tyrannical corporations.

It is the very nature of capital, whether it be organised on national, local, or private basis, to oppress and exploit the workers. Only when it suits the capitalist class—who now have the mastery in these matters—will municipal or national enterprises be undertaken, and then only for their benefit.

"But," say some ignorant persons, "it cannot be denied that these undertakings are able to cut down rates and taxes." By such talk are they able to persuade the workers that public enterprise is a benefit—because it saves rates and taxes. Before taxes are levied a person must receive an income of no less than £160 a year; and in so far as the worker comes within the Health Insurance Act, i.e., receives less than £160 per year, he is not liable to pay taxes. "But he pays rates?" shrieks our reformer. "For he certainly lives in a house—poor one though it be." Here again our reformer is wrong: the workmen pay merely a rental for his house, the rent going up or down according to the demand for and supply of houses within a given area. The rents of the workers are not affected by the rising and lowering of the rates, which proves that it does not concern the working class, but only the property owners.

"But," the reformer will say, "if he does not pay taxes directly, he certainly pays indirectly," on his tea, tobacco, etc." Again our social reformer errs; for the worker is not robbed in the sphere of exchange. It is in the domain of production where the robbery of the workers is carried on. The latter, although producing all the wealth of society, are only allowed to buy a small portion of the wealth which they produce. Receiving a wage, the price of his labour power, he is not able to buy up all that he has produced. Therefore the concern of the working class is not that tobacco, or tea, or any commodity is dear, but that the major portion of what they produce is filched from them. It would make precious little difference to the working class as a whole, if all articles were cheapened in price in like proportion their money wages dropped, or vice versa, their money wages rose while prices rose in the same proportion. The working class have never had the power, nor can they have such power under capitalism, of dictating their terms to the master class. Which proves that it is not the price of an article that matters, but the control by the workers of their own working conditions which Socialism alone can give, which matters.

Of late we have had the land taxers, with Lloyd George at their head, trying to revive an old nostrum. What villains these landed gentry are! Certainly no one can say a wrong word against the people Lloyd George represents—for is he not the heaven anointed "Messiah," himself! Yes, Mr. Cancellor of the Exchequer, the landlords are sucking the blood of the farm labourers and workers in general, but it is a mere flea-bite to the outrageous plunder and spoliation of your masters, the capitalists.

This nostrum, if put into practice, will cer-

tainly relieve capitalists of a burden. But will it help the workers? These professional diddlers claim it will by opening up new land and industries. By such means, it is asserted, will the unemployed be absorbed and wages, as a consequence, raised.

Yes, but the land taxer has never looked into the nature of capital. The capitalist reformer looks to this scheme as being a means to increase profits. Seeking the support of the workers, he leads them to believe that wages will also rise. History shows that although profits have risen enormously, real wages have fallen. And this has come about through capital becoming greater by inventions of machinery and the speeding up of the workers.

This has been going on all along and taxation of land values will in no way disturb that process. Thus while land taxation will benefit the members of the commercial class, (who own little land), by easing their burden of taxation, it in no way guarantees to the workers better living conditions.

Having then examined the most popular and so-called beneficial reforms, we find their ill effects far outweigh what can be said in their favour. And naturally so. For the fact is that reforms which are enacted by a capitalist government are used generally for the benefit of the master class. They touch only the externals, and never the internal or foundation of society. So long as the basis of capitalist society remains, so long will the social diseases, that are a result of that basis, remain.

The whole foundation of capitalism must be removed for Socialism to take its place, for not till then will society be relieved of the social cancer that affects it to-day. Mere talk that reform may benefit under certain imaginary conditions that may arise in the future is futile. We as Socialists know that we cannot afford to deal with fantastical side issues; for we are convinced that Socialism is the only means for the emancipation of the working class. Therefore, we must ever be advocating Socialism before the working class so that they may be prepared for the change in society.

"But," say some reformers notably of the I.L.P. and B.S.P. type, "we cannot afford to wait so long, and besides we are legislating Socialism step by step until we shall have secured the lot." Our misguided reformer cannot see that it is not Socialism that is evolving, but capitalism. Day by day, as capitalism becomes more and more powerful, the workers' position in society becomes increasingly deplorable. The capitalists (who legislate—not the workers) will not legislate themselves out of power gradually despite the talk of some crazy people about "revolutionary reform," rather will they seek to increase their power.

Only by the working class themselves taking conscious revolutionary political action will the fight be finished and their victory assured. By the workers taking such action, the capitalists, in their attempt to save their power, will dole out reforms in plenty, but the working class politically and intellectually organised will not be hoodwinked as they are to-day. They will, through their political supremacy, abolish private ownership of the means of life, and institute social ownership for social use. Then and only then will society be freed from the glaring anomalies that exist to-day, viz., luxury and idleness on the one hand; poverty and slavery on the other.

L. MARKS.

"SOCIALISM DETAILS TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF
A DEBATE

BETWEEN
J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.
AND
Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free ... 1½d

BUILDING TRADE'S DECLINE.

A leading article with the above heading was published in the "Daily Chronicle" of Saturday, July 11th, 1914. This article is remarkable for the damaging information against the private ownership of the means of life, and for the "tender-heartedness" shown by this capitalist politician. Mr. Chiozza Money, M.P., the author of the article, has, as usual, condemned the economic and political state of the country, and switches the attention of working-class readers to Parliament—the saviour of the people—the place from which can issue the commands, the admonitions, the laws to make it so that all shall be well for the working class in the "better times" that are coming under capitalism.

Mr. Money says: "Between 1901 and 1911 an army of men passed out of the building trade in England and Wales, and that in spite of an increase in population of three and a half millions. Whereas in 1901, the population being 32,500,000, the Census showed 1,042,864 men employed in building and works of construction, in 1911, the population having advanced to 36,100,000, the number of persons employed in building and works of construction fell to 946,127. Three more years have elapsed, and in the interim, there is reason to fear, the number of persons employed in the industry has been stagnant or even subject to further decline."

The decline in employment is therefore a very serious thing for the nation, merely regarding the matter from the point of view of engaging our people in worthy occupations. When, however, we remember the nature of the industry concerned, we have to deplore in the figures referred to, not merely a decline in a noble employment, but a decline in the consumption of buildings, and especially of buildings in their aspect as the homes of our people. Noble employment! Ye gods! So noble that the State has taken pity on those employed in the building trade to the extent of seven shillings unemployed benefit and ten shillings on sick; so noble that they swarm like bees about a big job, and try to get the "glad eye" of the foreman; so noble that when in work they have to speed up and compete one against the other—"Brothers" in the branch, and Brutes on the job.

We of the Socialist Party can tell where a great many of the builders' "hands" have gone. Many have been forced to seek the shelter of the "Homes" provided for those broken on the wheel of industry—the workhouses; many have "downed tools" for good, and walk the streets of "Old England" with "dull-eyed melancholy." Hundreds have packed up and gone to distant lands with the hope of getting "the staff of life" easier, and of securing a better prospect for their children. They have left this "tight little island," blessed with hundreds of Acts of Parliament passed in the interest of the working class—so we have been told—left the land "blessed" with the history of "great men" who have looked after those who worked in "noble occupations." "The Salvation Army" can account for some who have "got out and got under"; in the workshops of the "Blood and Fire" brigade they have tasted the sweets of capitalism.

Mr. Chiozza Money has criticised the workings of capitalism, and we must try and "better the instruction." Let us quote again: "It is fundamentally important that Britain should be rebuilt. It is by far the most important social question. The inside of a house matters much, and the outside of a house matters no less. Between their interior and their exterior aspects, buildings for an industrial nation become the framework of the lives of the majority of its people. They either let in or keep out the sun. They either form beautiful and healthy cities or environ town populations in ugliness and misery. They either make or mar our lives. Let no man imagine that by securing himself in a decent home he has rid his own person or his own family of the curse of bad housing. A house can never be an individual thing or a private thing. The private investor has failed and is failing to give the nation the houses which it needs. With the money which has been invested abroad in the last four years by British investors every slum in this country could have been wiped out, and when I say this I use the

term 'slum' to include not merely the most squalid streets, but to cover about one-fifth of all the town dwellings of the country."

What is the "remedy" of this capitalist M.P.? It is to make it the duty of local authorities to "house their people well," and to assist them with "supplies of cheap capital." We can understand Mr. Money very well in his insidious way of keeping working-class attention still longer fixed on the lips and promises of the capitalist politicians. We understand from his wail that this social mess in the shape of "houses" is because of naughty capitalists; much "good" will result when the "good" capitalists predominate. We, of the working class are according to this capitalist prize-fighter—the children of those who house us, of those who feed and clothe us, who pay us wages, and kill our brothers and sisters in Factory, Mill, and Mine, and fine themselves, through a manager, £24 for murdering over 400 miners in a pit in "gallant little Wales."

Mr. Money wants our capitalist fathers to be more thoughtful for their children; but Mr. Money is in that section of capitalist politicians who raised the load line to suit the ship-owners; who ticketed and numbered the proletariat to suit the masters, and who have mucked about a "Home Rule Bill" for over 30 years while the workers have been stifled in slums—and polish their tools in case something turns up.

"Cheap Capital" to house the workers. Very well. The only way to attain this desired end of capitalist "goody goodies" is to exploit the working class more and more—and improved methods of hastening the wealth production under capitalism will swell the unemployed army, will crowd the workers in the slums, and make them fit instruments to produce wealth for "Cheap Capital."

We, of the Socialist Party think that it matters everything to preach to the workers that they are wage-slaves; that their so-called decent homes hang together by but a slender thread; the evolution of a rotten system of wealth production will scatter many home nests of those who think they are safe.

So, then, we are framed in by slums, by unemployed men, by starving children, by factory bells, by want of the necessities of life in the midst of plenty. We want bread and it is difficult to get—but the steam plough is working. We want decent houses—but the workmen are not allowed to build. We want life, freedom, the obstacles hewn out of our path to get food, clothing, and shelter after the working of our brain and muscle—and some of the greatest obstacles in the path of the toilers of the world are those who preach that we are "but little children weak" and they—the "great intellects" who will some day do us some good.

Look to Parliament and see there the agents of the capitalist class, who spin silky words about and around our social scores. When the delegates of the class-conscious workers sit in Parliaments of the World, the days of the "kind perishers" will be numbered. S. W.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
8 NORTH STREET,
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

For particulars as to joining, etc.
The "Socialist Standard" and all other Party literature may also be had from the above.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—
"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

THE YELLOW REVOLT.

"CHINA AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION,"
by Kiang Kang Hu.

This little pamphlet is an all too brief sketch of the revolutionary movement in China during the recent upheaval. It is exceedingly interesting reading, and would be a startling eye-opener to the brand of anti-Socialist whose only excuse for opposing Socialism is that England must wait for Socialism until the "uncivilised" and the heathen are converted to our cause.

Here we have the "heathen Chinese" applying Marxian remedies to working class evils, and showing a knowledge of capitalist conditions that would put to shame many a "civilised" Christian "labour leader."

The great revolution in China in which the working class, as is customary in all such revolutions, was used to free the land from Manchu rule, leaves the Chinese worker groaning under still worse conditions, conditions common to the early development of capitalist production.

And, as a result, to use the author's words: "The faith of the people is gone in Republicanism. The belief that it was the Manchus' only who were oppressive is shattered. There remains but one thing, THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. That and that only can bring relief to the toiling millions of China. Their only hope lies in this: the taking over of the entire mechanism of production and operation of it by the workers, for the workers—the Socialist or Industrial Republic."

The growth of The Socialist Party of China was evidently too swift for the powers that were, for in 1913 martial law was declared in Peking, the headquarters raided, the Secretary, Chen Ye Long, was beheaded and the S. P. of China dissolved. It is however but for a time. "China cannot remain long in the grip of the reaction. Yuan Shi Kai can overrun the country with his troops. He can zealously stamp out every spark of revolt. And yet, even as he does that, the tremendous forces are gathering, forces to which his army is but a toy, which will hurl aside Yuan Shi Kai and the reaction as though they were nothing. The name of those forces is industrialism. Steadily in ever increasing speed, the great economic change to machine production continues in China. This means that China must be, will be modernised."

"And the Socialist Movement in China will reassemble its forces, fall in step with the great Red International and march with it to victory."

The author puts things very straight, and a passage dealing with the missionary, the capitalist, and the invasion of China by the Allied Powers is thus neatly and forcibly summarised: "China can now come into contact with the holy trinity of capitalism, the Cross, the Dollar Mark, and the Bayonet."

Much other useful information is given in this brochure, which is well worth perusal.

TWEL.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with
TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE.

REDDISH LANE, GORTON,
from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to

G. BONE, 85, SOUTHFIELDS RD.,
CHISWICK, W.,
from whom all Party literature may be had.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD" CAN BE
HAD BOUND AS FOLLOWS:

1 year 2s. 6d.	4 years 7s. 6d.
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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

appropriators, the agents of our "piece loving" masters and "great intellectuals" have to admit that, as a rule, peace (i.e., the peaceable division of the pieces) between the different nations can only be preserved on condition of being armed to the teeth, and applying every new technical discovery, as fast as it is made, to the instruments of destruction. Nay, so brilliant and beneficent are the results of "our education" and of the gospel of the Prince of Peace, that—as the experience in Ireland, for example, has shown—even the folk of one and the same community can be persuaded to drill and arm against one another!

And from such quarters comes the pretence of concern about the evils of tribal warfare existing in continents thousands of miles away, amongst peoples who are despised and held in utter contempt by the Christian nations! The unblushing effrontery of it! Just imagine those who do not care a rap about the welfare of their fellows at home; imagine those who could stand by in perfect composure, during the recent Balkan atrocities, hearing week in and week out the poignant tales of the wholesale devastation of innocent peasants' villages; imagine those who are to day responsible for:

"Battlefields Covered With Dead"
"Brilliant Bayonet Fighting"
"Great Slaughter of Germans";

imagine, if you can, those intellectually bankrupt and morally decrepit apologists for the powers that be, to be capable and anxious of decently educating or bettering the lot of anybody, let alone obscure savages!

Also the ignorance and superstitions of primitive peoples have long worried our masters. Hence, with their almost proverbial disinterestedness, missions were organised and are now tumbling over one another in an endeavour—well backed by guns and bayonets—to enlighten the ignorant on these points and to teach them reverence for, and awe and worship of the "unknown" and the "unseen" which, rightly interpreted, mean—the Christian Capitalist.

Probably the interpretation which we place on this claim of "enlightenment" will not be seriously disputed by its authors or our opponents, and therefore we say no more about it. Who, indeed, could take seriously or see anything but humbug in such a claim, coming from a quarter where the mass of the people are steeped in profound ignorance and obnoxious superstitions? What detrimental superstition is there amongst savages that does not find its corollary amongst the so-called civilised white peoples of to-day? Think only of the present European war with its manifold tragic phases and consequences to the age-long dispossessed "labouring poor"—horror which would be inconceivable in any sane system of society where actual science could be diffused among the people, instead of that abominable apology that goes to-day by the name of education.

Of course, the necessity for the deliberate inculcation of the conventional lies will be sufficiently clear when we realize that the wealth and power of the bourgeoisie are bound up with and dependent upon the ignorance and superstition of the mass of wealth-producing people.

But the bluff which veils the real intentions of the colonisers is not the worst of the evil. Just as this civilisation, based, as it is, on the capitalist mode of production, has the inexorable tendency to more and more impoverish and degrade the white peoples, in the same way many, and certainly not the mere imaginary evils afflicting the coloured races to-day in tropical and sub-tropical countries, are directly due to the contact with the civilised European who "means business." Whether we refer to the abominations of the caravan and carrying system, which condemns thousands of blacks, including women and children, to carry heavy burdens of colonial produce over tracks of hundreds of miles; or to the revolting labour-recruiting methods, by which the unsuspecting natives are practically forced to work on plantations or in mines, often in deadly climates thousands of miles from their homelands (under conditions of which they had not the slightest notion); or whether we refer to the flourishing slave traffic, pure and simple, it is obvious that those horrors were unknown in the Colonies before the advent of the rubber speculators,

cocoa and tea-planters, soap-boilers and influential Christian bootblack dealers.

With regard to the last mentioned evils, we have it on the authority of, amongst many others, the British Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, that the exercise of force to secure labour for the colonies is increasing. In an official letter to the "Daily Chronicle" (23.7.14) the said Society stated:

"AN OFFICIAL DEFINITION OF SLAVERY."

"TO THE EDITOR *Daily Chronicle*."

"In view of the increase in the exercise of force to secure labour for tropical regions, serious developments in the South Seas, and proposals now being made in British East Africa, the committee of this society appealed to Mr. Harcourt to declare publicly that in the opinion of his Majesty's Colonial advisers forced labour for private profit is a form of slavery and will not be tolerated within the British Dominions."

"Upon this important issue Mr. Harcourt has given us permission to say that, in his opinion, the proposition contained in the society's letter 'that forced labour for private profit amounts to slavery appears to him to be self-evident.'"

"This eminently satisfactory reply brings the Colonial Office into harmony upon this cardinal issue with the Foreign Office, for to Sir Edward Grey is due this definition of modern slavery."

"At the same time we beg to point out that not only in foreign territories, for which we have treaty obligations, but even in certain British territories forced labour for private profit appears to be increasing."

"TRAVERS BUXTON, Secretary.
"JOHN H. HARRIS,

"Organising Secretary.
"Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, July 21, 1914."

It may be left to a future occasion to record some of the ugly and harrowing revelations that have recently been made concerning the slave-traffic in various dominions, amongst others Angola, British New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and East Africa. We will only say that advertisements "seeking to buy and sell labourers" appear as freely in the Colonial Press as for any other merchandise. Mr. Cadbury, according to a statement in the "Daily Chronicle," actually received an offer of a cocoa plantation, the "assets" of which included "200 black labourers £3,555," and at the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, Sir Geo. King-Hall said that "the state of affairs in the New Hebrides was scandalous and disgraceful."

Acts had occurred in the Islands which were a blot and a slur on a chivalrous nation."

So far, then, is the white man's mission from improving the conditions of the backward races, that the latter's real misery and degradation only begins at the contamination with the civilised. Indeed, the springing up of "protection societies" points to the fact, alarming to the exploiters of the Colonies, that in many districts, especially in Australia, the havoc caused through such contamination is so great that "preservative" measures form to-day a good deal of controversy.

Direct slavery, properly so-called, is, of course, not the desired ultimate aim and end of our Colonisers; imbued, as they are, with a keen sense of responsibility in carrying out their "cultural trust," our masters have always had an "angelic" antipathy against the exercise of force in connection with the "labour question." The "civilising mission" will not be terminated, and the "native problem" will not be considered to be satisfactorily solved, so long as the ideal wage-system, under which the Christian nations so harmoniously and gloriously thrive and prosper, is incomplete in the Colonies.

However, we will next confine ourselves to deal with some of the methods employed for the purpose of bringing about the desired result, or—as Dr. Dernburg, the late German Imperial Secretary for the Colonies, on 22nd June last, at a visit to the London Chamber of Commerce, said: "The great question of how to deal with all mankind of darker colour; how the white man was to retain his hold and domination over them whilst at the same time fulfilling the cul-

tural trust imposed upon the more advanced peoples to improve the condition of the backward races." And to set at ease those who might shrug their shoulders at what has been and what will still be said about the methods of the foreigner (as if the same did not apply to the British Dominions) Dr. H. E. Dernburg's assurance that "whenever he was in a difficulty as to how a certain Colonial problem ought to be handled, he had found a solution in the study of British methods" will suffice.

FRANK.

(To be Continued.)

LLOYD GEORGE AS OLD MOORE.

Mr. David Lloyd George is one of the mainstays and props of the Liberal Government. It is claimed for him by his paymasters, not only that he is a very Solomon of statesmanly wisdom, but also that he is the type, if not the spirit incarnate, of democracy. According to these, the masters whom he serves, the far-seeing scummen of this "little Welsh lawyer" is equalled only by his democratic candour, his persistent and irrepressible veracity in all his dealings with "the people."

Of course, it is not for the opponent of the master class and their hirelings to quarrel with the statement that the intellectual capacity of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and his veracity are on a par. It is more to the point to present the reader with material which might enable him to form an opinion for himself regarding the relative capacity of the Lloyd Georgian mental powers and his capacity for controlling one of them—his imagination.

The following extracts are taken from "Parliamentary Debates" (Vol. 65, No. 105), and occur in the process of the official report of the debates which took place in the House of Commons on July 23, 1914.

[Mr. Lloyd George.] "My hon. Friend has referred also to the question of armaments. The right hon. Gentleman the member for West Birmingham said, in future what are you going to tax when you want more money? He also not merely assumed but stated that you could not depend upon any economy in armaments. I think that is not so. I think he will find that next year there will be a substantial economy without interfering in the slightest degree with the efficiency of the Navy. The expenditure of the last few years has been very largely for the purpose of meeting what is recognised to be a temporary emergency."

I think there are symptoms, not merely here but in other lands, not merely that the industrial classes, but that the financial interests of the world are getting alarmed. I have always thought you could not arrest them by mere political moves against them and by mere political criticism. I have always thought you could not arrest them by motives of humanity, and I regret that that is so. I am firmly of opinion that they will only be arrested when the great financial interests of the world begin to realise what a menace they are to capital, to property, to industry, to the prosperity of the world, and I think they are beginning to realise it."

"It is very difficult for one nation to arrest this very terrible development. You cannot do it. You cannot when other nations are spending huge sums of money which are not merely weapons of defence, but are equally weapons of attack. I realise that, but the encouraging symptom which I observe is that the movement against it is a cosmopolitan one and an international one. Whether it will bear fruit this year or next year, that I am not sure of, but I am certain that it will come. I can see signs, distinct signs, of reaction throughout the world. Take a neighbour of ours. Our relations are very much better than they were a few years ago. There is none of that anarling which we used to see, more especially in the Press of those two great, I will not say rival nations, but two great Empires. The feeling is better between them. They begin to realise they can co-operate for common ends, and that the points of co-operation are greater and more numerous and more important than the points of possible contro-

versary. All this is to the good."

Now, then, Mr. Lloyd George, the particularly brilliant star of the Liberal constellation, as late as July 23rd saw "signs, distinct signs" of a reaction against armaments that led him to prophesy "substantial economy" in armaments next year. This, mark, was three weeks after the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife—the historic event which provided for Austria the opportunity to present her ultimatum to Serbia—it was, in fact, the very day on which the ultimatum was launched.

Mr. Lloyd George, as a member of the British Cabinet, can be held to have very early and complete information concerning international political events. On the 23rd of July, and for some days before, the signs and portents were, to the man in the street, indicative of anything but that "reaction throughout the world" against armaments which the Liberal lawyer professed to be impressed with. Was the Chancellor's intellect, then, despite the advantage of his inside knowledge of things from Marconies downward, not equal to the task of reading correctly the omens so obvious to other people, or was his florid imagination playing him tricks? In other words, was he, when he declared that he could see "distinct signs" of a reaction throughout the world against armaments, and that he thought that in respect of these "next year there will be substantial economy"—was he when he expressed himself thus, merely a fool or simply a liar?

Whichever the answer may be, the diary of the next few days following Mr. Lloyd George's windy speech in the House of Commons, is hardly such as to bring to the prophet "honour in his own country." For instance:

- July 23—"I think there are symptoms, not merely here but in other lands . . ."—Mr. Lloyd George in the Commons.
- July 23.—Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.
- " 28.—Austria declares war.
- Aug. 1.—Germany declares war on Russia.
- " 4.—Gt. Britain declares war on Germany.
- " 6.—Austria declares war on Russia.
- " 12.—Britain declares war on Austria.
- " 16.—Japs present ultimatum to Germany.

One other point may be usefully noticed here. The hired spokesman of the ruling class—the class who establish and control the armaments of the world—says that in his opinion armaments cannot be arrested by "motives of humanity," but only by the fear that they are a "menace to capital, to property, to industry, to the prosperity of the world" (meaning, of course, by "the world," the capitalists, for whom alone he speaks).

That motives of humanity will never lead the master class to disarm is quite true. It is the blood of the workers which, in the main, pays the red levy of war. As long as working-class life and suffering are the coin in which war is paid for, our masters will be ready enough for butchery on the grand scale. It is significant how light-heartedly they launch a hundred thousand working men into the field of death, and call for further hundreds of thousands. Such material costs them nothing. How different, however, was their tone when they were called upon to "build against Germany"! Then our masters went crawling and whining to their German rivals, like whipped curs, begging and praying for cessation of "the mad race for armaments." It is the cost of war they do not like—the "blood" they do not mind (it is not theirs), but the treasure—ah! that is a very different matter.

Motives of humanity! No, they have never counted for much in any ruling class—and never will. Plimsoll proved that true of a previous generation—Lloyd George with his new load line for ships proved it true of this generation. The safety and continuous growth of their property are all that our masters are concerned with, and that is the real meaning of Mr. Lloyd George's words.

Nen.

BIRMINGHAM.

All sympathisers with the Party in the Birmingham district who require information as to joining, etc., should communicate with
E. JESPER, 74 MURDOCK ROAD,

HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM.

THE MOTIVE BEHIND THE "BOY SCOUT" MOVEMENT.

For over a century and a half Lancashire has been the centre of the greatest sweating system the world has ever known, and a glance through the pages of working-class history reveals facts that makes the blood boil to think of; how for years the little children of the working men were driven into factories at the age of six and eight, when mere babies, to work their poor little bodies away from early morn till eve, week in week out, year in year out, till they eventually went down to early graves, providing luxury and enjoyment for the heartless scoundrels who opposed tooth and nail all legislation attempting to improve the lot of factory workers.

It is, therefore, with curious feelings that we read in the "Manchester Guardian" of the 1st July last, the report of a meeting held in Manchester at which Gen. Sir R. Baden-Powell delivered a speech in support of an appeal for £250,000 for the Boy Scout Movement.

The meeting was composed of business men, and the slimy unctuousness of the address was worthy of its listeners, the offsprings of the worst hypocrites known to history.

Our poor little kiddies who, in the majority of cases, get their schooling while earning their dearly bought bread, are to be roped in and taught "to co-operate with each other for the good of the country." Why? A little further on the noble general explains. He said, when asking his audience to contribute liberally, "I do not want you to do that merely out of a spirit of charity, but rather from a business point of view." Thus he exposes the hypocrisy of the whole thing. He says in so many words that the movement is not advocated for what good it may do the boys but in the interest of the master class. When we hear of capitalists, who have gained their wealth through the sweating and murdering of their white slaves, stepping forward and contributing hundreds of pounds to a movement of this sort, it behoves us at once to look beneath the surface and see what prompts their sudden and alarming generosity. Men who are willing to stop at nothing, not even murder, for the sake of a few hundreds per cent., don't throw away good money for nothing, and a careful examination of Baden-Powell's address will show the particular way in which the masters will benefit.

We will make a few extracts from his speech for purposes of illustration. He says "We try to teach them (the Boy Scouts) one or more handicrafts. Call them hobbies if you like, but hobbies lead to energy and inventiveness and to using fingers as well as brains, so that no man with a hobby is likely to become a waster in later life." Of what use are wasters to the masters? money invested in them would not yield an adequate profit. "Then we try to give the boys health by teaching them to look after themselves. Millions of hours' work are lost now-a-days through ill-health," not to speak of the annoyance and loss of profit caused by sick employees interrupting and putting out of time the steady and mechanical flow of daily operations. "We try to teach them to be helpful to others . . . in that way he has learnt service to his fellowman, and the idea enlarges into service for men generally, and for his (!) country, and into self-sacrifice."

The barriers are to a great extent artificial, (!) and the more classes mix with each other the greater friends will they become, the better will they recognise each other's merits, and the better will they be able to co-operate for the good of the country." Hear! hear! Mr. General, but, of course, not that common corduroy clad country that lives in back alleys and feeds (sometimes) on boiled beef (!) and carrots. And now for the climax. "At any rate let me come still nearer to you gentlemen in Manchester. We will find from experience that the boys who cultivate the ideas and habits of the Boy Scouts prove more useful to employers of labour, they do their duty not from fear of punishment, but because it is their business to play the game to the best of their ability. Their discipline is founded on that playing for their side, and not for themselves. They come into business for what they can contribute to it, not for what they can get out of it."

The above extracts give the key to the whole business. The value of the movement is that it will turn out boys with all those virtues suitable for steady, obedient, self-sacrificing workers, who will die rather than do anything to injure their employers, and it will make human labour-power more efficient and cheaper. The boys are taught how to husband their energies and live cheaply. What effect will this have on the lot of the working class? Wealth will be turned out by fewer workers; there will be more competition for fewer jobs; wages will fall. Thus by reducing waste to a minimum, lowering the necessary wages, and increasing the unemployed army, the Boy Scout movement is shown to be anti-working class and in the interests of the masters.

If further proof is required let us glance at those who contributed so lavishly to the fund. The Fine Cotton Spinners & Doublers Association, who on several occasions lately have locked out their workers, contributed £250. Pilkington Bros., the famous glass manufacturers, one of the largest firms in St. Helena, contributed £100. One of the brothers is a Liberal and the other is a Tory. Who said Liberal capitalist and Tory capitalist interests are not identical? Lord Ashton, the carpet manufacturer of Lancaster, whose workmen were recently out on strike, contributed £25. And to clinch the argument a big engineering firm named Mather & Platt, Ltd., sent the following letter to Baden-Powell, which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" of the same day (1.7.14). "As we find that the boys in these works who are Scouts make the best workmen, every encouragement will be given to extend the movement amongst them, and we are therefore glad to support your appeal by giving a promise of £500 to the Endowment Fund. There seems to be little doubt that the Boy Scout training tends to produce a better class of workman all round, and we hope that many other large employers of labour will answer your appeal in a generous spirit." We think no more damning evidence could have been produced than that contained in this letter.

The whole speech by Baden-Powell, following the old time dis-honoured game, is invested with that slobbering religious humbug we know so well, that pretends to be interested in the spiritual welfare of the children. Fancy putting on the pretence of the children's welfare before those who are responsible for the state of affairs obtaining in Lancashire at present. Father Vaughan, speaking at Liverpool on Sept. 10th, 1913 said that passing through Lancashire he could not help being struck by the small stature of the lads. Round Liverpool and Manchester towns, small, badly-grown, bow-legged, and narrow-chested lads. Many boys and young men looked bleached, not to say anemic, as though they suffered from want of oxygen, nitrogen, and wholesome food. ("Leader," 11.9.13). And those who are the cause of these conditions responded nobly to B.P.'s appeal!!!

Another of your heroes, O working men is, therefore, at the bottom, but another of the tools of the master class. All the so-called great men of to-day, whether soldiers, sailors, clerics, or politicians, are only the holders of briefs for the capitalists. "All are but ministers to wealth, and feed its mortal flame."

The measure of a movement's value to the working class is to be gauged by the attitude the masters adopt towards it. Religious movements, land movements, Boy Scout movements, etc., are backed liberally by the masters, then obviously these movements are in the interest of the masters and against the workers' interests. The Socialist movement has the undying antagonism of the masters, then obviously workers should back it. In spite of Powell's soft phrase about wiping away the barriers between the classes, the class war exists and must continue to exist until the exploiting class is wiped out of existence.

The whole vast edifice of modern civilisation is built upon the basis of exploitation, and all means are employed to provide the most efficient exploitable material. When workers firmly grasp this elementary fact the cries of those who "bowl" the various movements for "improving" the workers' lot, without attacking the exploiting system itself, will fall upon deaf ears, and the good work we are doing will have received its recompense.

G. McCLATCHIE.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPTEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 C. Baggett	C. Elliott	A. Barker	E. Lake
Clapton, N. Kensington Rd.	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Roe	F. Vickers	H. Joy
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. L. Cox	A. Wallis	T. W. Lobb	A. Bays
Finsbury Park	7.30 G. Seech	A. Bays	A. Kohn	A. W. Pearson
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30 A. Kohn	H. Joy	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother
Hampstead, Jock Straw's, Castle	7.30 J. Ward	R. Reynolds	A. Cox	J. Wray
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11.30 C. Elliott	A. L. Cox	F. Lake	A. Jacobs
Ilford (station)	7.30 F. Vickers	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald	J. Le Carte
Kensington, Portobello Rd., Lane & Rd.	7.30 A. Leslie	J. Wray	A. Jacobs	J. Ward
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 A. Barker	A. W. Pearson	S. Blake	H. Cooper
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Jacobs	B. Young	J. Brown	R. Reynolds
Peckham Triangle	7.30 J. Brown	C. Parker	A. Leslie	J. Fitzgerald
Peckham Broadway	11.30 B. Young	J. Fitzgerald	F. Thorne	T. Wilks
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30 S. Blake	T. W. Lobb	C. Baggett	A. Wallis
Victoria Park	11.30 B. B. Campbell	C. Baggett	R. Reynolds	A. Barker
Waltham Green Church	7.30 H. Joy	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	C. Elliott
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	11.30 A. Wallis	A. W. Pearson	J. Ward	T. W. Lobb
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	C. Elliott	A. L. Cox
	7.30 A. Jacobs	G. Seech	H. Joy	C. Baggett
	7.30 E. Fairbrother	H. Cooper	A. W. Pearson	F. Vickers
	7.30 T. W. Lobb	B. Young	G. Seech	A. Anderson
	7.30 R. Reynolds	A. Jacobs	B. Young	G. Seech
	7.30 A. W. Pearson	T. W. Lobb	A. Bays	A. Kohn

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Car. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
 Kilburn, Victoria Rd., 8. Walthamstow, Hoe St. Station, 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Elthorne-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30.
 Ilford, Station, 8. Battersea, Mossbury-rd., Lavender-hill, 8. Chelsea, World's End, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Marylebone, Lord High Admiral, Church-st., 8.
SATURDAYS.—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30. Stoke Newington, Palantine-rd., 8. Harrow, St. Ann's Rd., Greenhill, 8. Fulham, Vale Rd., King's Rd., 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britania-rd.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Monds.
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PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets altn. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 82, Mildmay-road, Newington Green.

Branch business 1st and 3rd Monds, public discussion other Monds, 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.
TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Monds. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlia-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets alt'e Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ve, Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 469, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

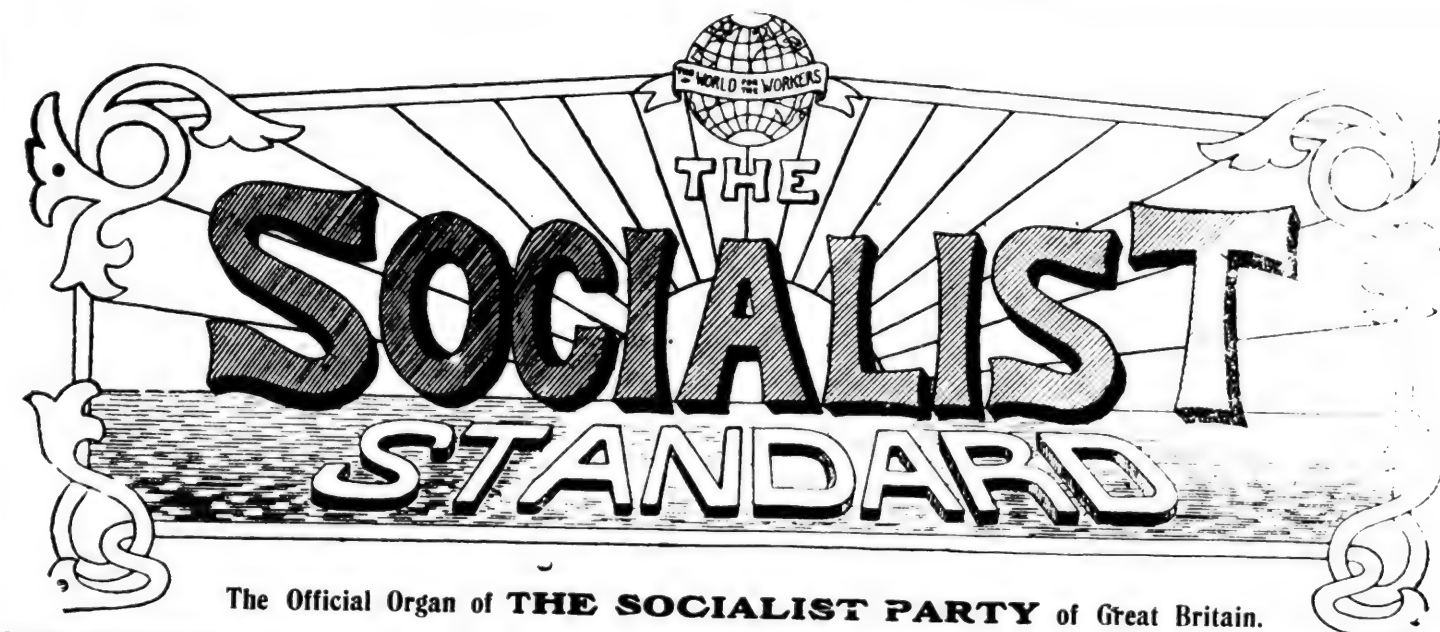
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No. 122. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, OCTOBER, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE GREATER WAR.

OUR APPEAL FOR RECRUITS.

To the members of the working class:—

For the moment the anti-Socialists have triumphed, and Europe is plunged in anarchy and bloodshed, while over the seas pillage and death have spread their wings. The much vaunted "intellectual development of society," the great "progress of capitalist civilisation," the "directive ability" and the "administrative powers" that the master class are supposed to monopolise, have resulted in a vile and vicious struggle between them as to which can murder most of OUR class—the **WORKING CLASS**.

This is your reward for trusting your enemy; for when either or both sides become exhausted in this conflict, the master class will patch up their little difference, but will continue the **GREATER WAR**—the subjection and robbery of the working class.

"Peace, perfect Peace," sing the churches; but "pieces, golden pieces," chip the masters, and in their fight for markets in which to realise the wealth stolen from the workers, the Christian crakers and peace praters find their answer as the bullets find their billets in the sons of God, and leading church divines draw dividends from the sale of powder.

This is the reward of those who have foolishly placed reliance on religion.

But meantime the workers have suddenly become important, and particularly the strong, young men. To them appeals are being made; threats even, and hints of probable unemployment are given; while the "superior persons" vie with each other in flattering the possible recruit to their murdering machine. "Your country is in danger, fight for it and maintain your liberties!" Such is now the cry of the masters to the young men of the working-class. Strange, is it not, that the masters should now be so concerned with *our* country and *our* liberties? The perjured, lying hypocrites! It is their own country and their own interests that are threatened.

The working class have no country (they must go where they can get a job), nor have they any liberties it would hurt them much to lose.

The lot of the working class in this and other countries is just to be allowed to exist for the convenience of the master class. The workers' portion, in England as elsewhere, is to be ground down in the struggle to gain the pittance to eke out a miserable existence.

Under the Union Jack or other national flag the workers are the slaves of those who own and control the means of life. Here, in times of peace, **THE GREATER WAR** still rages: the relentless, bitter struggle against poverty and starvation. Here we have sweating, low wages and brutalising toil, child-labour and cheap female-labour, unemployment, shoddy clothing, slum dwellings, and adulterated food.

Here we have strikes and lock-outs, and the military machine used in the interests of the masters when the workers, fighting for a living, are batoned, shot, and starved into subjection. Poverty and prostitution ever increasing—degradation ever deepening: such are the liberties, such is the system you are asked to risk your lives in defence of. But a far better thing to do is what we ask of you—that is to stay at home and think.

Realise that the only party of the workers in this country is the Socialist Party of Great Britain—all other parties have misled and betrayed you—all other parties are at present betraying you. Get to understand the economic enslavement of your class. Enlist in the army of the Social Revolution. Your **OWN** class needs you, let the master class see to itself.

Rouse ye!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

'The great appear great to us because we are on our knees! Let us Rise!' Desmoulins

THE IDLE PARSONS BLESS THE BUSY SOLDIERS.

Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I come not to send peace but a sword.—Matt. X. 34.

"PEACE and goodwill towards all men" is thought by some to be the watchword of the Christian Church. The Church which is the organisation, above all else, claiming to be the Party of peace and the promoter of better relations between man and man. Nineteen hundred years have passed since their creeds were established and yet almost the whole of "Christian" civilisation is embroiled in deadly war. Verily, it is said the Church is paid by the ruling class to do the work of the rich, for we find the parasitic parsons to day praising and defending what is undoubtedly the most mercenary massacre which ever stained the pages of history. Every section of the Christian faith adds its blessing to this savagery.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, leader of the Anglican Church, who gets £15,000 per year to preach the "Gospel of love," said ("Standard," August 25th):

"So far as I can see, our conscience as a Christian State and people, is as regards this war, wholly and unchangeably clear. We might, I suppose, for a time have stayed outside the arena, but to have stayed outside at this time would, as I understand it, have been at the cost of England's honour, at the cost of England's chivalry to weakened peoples, at the cost of England's faithfulness to her pledged word. Could any of us for the sake of avoiding war have asked God's blessing upon our reticence? . . . It was not in quiet and peaceful times that Christian heroes like Henry Lawrence Havelock or Gordon bore an undying message which will live while England stands."

The awful cant and hypocrisy about "England's honour" and "England's chivalry" is well taken if we recall how the tiny Boer Republics were treated. The deeds of valor amongst the Indians and Egyptians and nearer home in the "Emerald Isle."

St. Paul's Cathedral is the Mecca of modern Christians and the Canon of the Cathedral, therefore, was sought for his attitude. This is what Canon Alexander said ("Standard," Aug. 25th, 1914):

"At this, one of the greatest crises of the world's history, we could not pray for success, we could not look up in simple trust and confidence to God, unless our hands were clean, unless we were convinced that our cause is just. It is God's leading that we are following now."

"War is the instrument through which God is working out His own purpose. It is Him we are called upon to serve and if we are faithful and loyal and true, He will bring us, in the language of the scripture, "through fire and water," "out into a wealthy place."

"Trust in God and keep your powder dry" was the famous charge of Oliver Cromwell to his Ironsides, and to-day Lord Kitchener has struck the same note in advising each member of the force he has sent out that "the first duty of a soldier is to fear God . . . God holds in his hands the issue. Fortunately the strikes and troubles that existed here are settled now. Classes are united. Rich and poor alike are shoulder to shoulder in a righteous cause and in this we see God working out our salvation."

The Roman Catholic Church is, of course, in the same position as their Anglican confreres in crime. Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, states his views thus ("Standard," August 22nd, 1914):

"War cannot itself be a sin, since God Himself has actually commanded war on many occasions and even aided His own people to obtain the victory by miraculous means. It is quite certain that God cannot at any time have done or commanded anything sinful. Moreover, in the New Testament the profession of arms is treated as a perfectly legitimate one; special favour was shown to the officers of the Roman army (Luke VII, 2, 10). St. John the Baptist, far from advising soldiers to abandon their calling, urged them to be careful to observe military discipline (Luke III, 14), and our Lord not only foretold the coming of war in the

future (Matt. XII, 36), but declared that he came "not to bring peace but a sword," and we are told in the Apocalypse (XII, 7) that there was war even in heaven."

Such an authority for war has rarely been surpassed by the followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford also agrees as to the divine origin of the war for he says (same paper):

"The war is the result of the sins and passions of men; it is the great scourge used by the Almighty to chastise the sins of the world."

The Nonconformist Conscience has also been appealed to and the Pastor of Westminster Chapel, the Rev. G. Campbell-Morgan, blesses the wholesale butchery in these words (same paper):

"I preach peace at all seasons, but with regard to the course of Great Britain in the present great conflict, I have changed my views because I believe that my fellow-countrymen are pursuing the only honourable course open to them by upholding the cause of a small nation, upon which all the horrors of a ruthless invasion have been forced. . . . I am certain that Great Britain has been drawn into the present strife by the highest and noblest of emotions. . . . We are thankful to God for the readiness of the sons of the nation to go forth upon their stern duty."

Even the Quaker testifies for the "Fatherland and the Flag." E. B. Sprigg, of the Society of Friends, asked by the "Standard" (19.8.14), says:

"The action of Great Britain on embarking on her present adventure in Europe is probably a righteous one."

Westminster Abbey is the home of kings and from this shrine the voice of Canon Westlake speaks a good word for the war. His views appear in the "Standard" for August 18th:

"I cannot think there is any negation of of Christian principles in a Christian people going to war . . . In the present instance we find Great Britain, Belgium, France and Russia resisting warlike aggression on the part of other nations, and their cause is therefore a righteous one. Great Britain could not have kept out of the conflict and retained her honour."

After quoting from the Bible he goes on to say: "This sanction of the sword by the Christian Religion is borne out by the fact that the old Bishops of the Church were warriors, and often rode into the fight with the armies. Then again, there is the blessing of flags and arms, which is a religious ceremonial, and the appointment of Chaplains of fighting regiments. This indicates that the Church gives its sanction to war."

Cottonopolis must, of course, get its religious representative's blessing and hence Bishop Weldon, Dean of Manchester, writes thus "Standard, August 27th, 1914):

"The soldiers of the King stand in need of prayer so that by their conduct, as by their courage, they may show themselves worthy of their Christian native land."

The Dean of Ripon informs the "Standard" readers that "the Lord is on our side," having undoubtedly received a private wire, uncensored.

Numerous others of the "Black Squad" could be quoted in the same strain for the Church is doing its work well.

It is, of course, quite incidental that many of the dignitaries of the Christian faith have shares in the armament firms who live on war and war scares. The Bishop of Kensington, for instance, is listed as a shareholder in the International armour plate ring known as the Harvey United Steel Co. The Bishop of Chester is a shareholder in Vickers, the International firm whose works at Fiume supplied Austria with torpedoes to be used against the marines the dear bishop blesses. The Bishop of Hexham is a shareholder in Armstrong Whitworth, which belonged to the world combine of armament manufacturers in company with Krupp. The Bishop of Newcastle is another shareholder in Vickers, whilst that bitter and outspoken enemy of Socialism, Dean Inge of St. Paul's, is a share-

holder both in Armstrong's and Vickers. The Bishop of Newport is a shareholder in John Brown & Co., and the President of the Free Church Councils, Sir J. Compton Rickett, owns 3,200 shares in John Brown & Co., and 2,100 shares in Cammell Laird, the two famous firms in the death trade.

Rumour has it that these eminent Christian firms do not spend all their time "beating swords into ploughshares" but that report is, of course, untrue.

Space does not allow of any more names, but those given are sufficient to show the material interest of these "Ambassadors of Christ."

Well does the Nonconformist "British Weekly" declare "United, we stand," for the parsons and plutocrats hang together lest other things happen. When the war heat has passed away for a time, we can imagine a banquet in honour of the Church and the spokesman of Capitalism blessing it, with the words: "Well done! thou good and faithful servant."

A. K.

HOW VOLUNTEERS ARE MADE.

"Any unmarried man who is big enough and strong enough to serve in the Army is asked to offer himself as a recruit in His Majesty's forces. In the event of his being accepted his place in Lord Derby's stable will be kept open for him."

Any man who has refused to try and serve his country in this way has been discharged. I am glad to say that nearly all have shown their patriotism by enlisting."—Hon. Geo. Lambton, in the "Daily Citizen," 4.8.14.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
8 NORTH STREET,
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

For particulars as to joining, etc.
The "Socialist Standard" and all other Party literature may also be had from the above.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with
TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE,
REDDISH LANE, HORTON,
from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to
G. BONE, 85, SOUTHFIELDS RD.,
CHISWICK, W.,
from whom all Party literature may be had.

BIRMINGHAM.

All sympathisers with the Party in the Birmingham district who require information as to joining, etc., should communicate with
E. JESPER, 74 MURDOCK ROAD,
HANDSWORTH, BIRMINGHAM.

BOUND VOLUMES OF "THE SOCIALIST STANDARD."

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N.B.—The issues from Sept. 1904 to August 1907 are out of print.

Single copies from September 1907 can be had, price 1d. each.

A FEW COMPARISONS, TOGETHER WITH THE CONCLUSIONS WE DRAW FROM THEM.

It has been said that mere comparisons do not appeal to the workers in general. So accustomed are they to their poverty and the possession and display of wealth by the class that exploits them, that to merely point to such a fact, or even to draw comparisons of the extremes of wealth and poverty, conveys nothing to them. It does not appear at all extraordinary to them that a class performing none of the useful work of society should possess fabulous and ever increasing wealth, while they who produce all the wealth of society should remain always in abject poverty.

This is not because the worker lacks the power of observation or comparison; but rather because he has seen it all his life, has become accustomed to it. Just as he expects the night to follow the day or the day to follow the night, and accepts both as unalterable; in the same way he looks upon society as being of necessity made up of two classes, rich and poor. Natural and social phenomena are in the same category for him—things that have always been and always will be.

This is scarcely to be wondered at, for almost from the cradle influences have been at work shaping in his mind this idea as to the fixed character of social institutions. All those he comes in contact with show by their actions daily and hourly that they do not question the elementary rules upon which society is based, however much they may squabble over the details. The average worker, therefore, regards his class as helpless and inert, though he is himself a unit and a fair sample of all the rest. Even if he understands Socialism, or claims to, he overlooks the power that can be attained by an organised movement, and the paramount importance of maintaining such a movement by individual effort, consequently he does nothing. That, together with the incessant struggle for a bare existence, is the explanation of apathy among the working class.

The result of apathy is disastrous, not only to the working class as a whole, but to the individual. Those who are quiescent not only strengthen capitalist domination, but are continually throwing away what opportunities remain to them of becoming men and women in the real sense; for nothing can be more contemptible than to wear chains without making an effort to throw them off; while persistence in many actions makes men.

Socialists, like others of the working class, are compelled to sell their energy in order to live. They cannot escape from wage slavery, but they have already escaped the effects of one of capitalism's worst weapons, the deliberate propaganda of ignorance and confusion. Without Socialist principles that make his class position clear, the worker cannot discriminate, his brain does not function as the organ of thought, but becomes the receptacle of all the ignorant twaddle that is purposely served up to him through the Press, platform, and pulpit.

Correctly speaking, ignorance is lack of knowledge, but it does not follow that ignorance is purely negative. Ignorant persons can babble, fraudulent labour leaders can make social reforms appear plausible to those who do not think for themselves. The clergy by their trained eloquence keep alive superstitions that no longer exist in the minds of intelligent men and women, because science has long ago explained their origin and growth and shown their absurdity.

Where ignorance speaks the loudest, however, is in the dissemination of falsehoods with regard to the function of capital. Those who own the most capital are everywhere extolled as the most desirable citizens. Yet when one of these desirable citizens dies, the function of the capital he leaves behind goes on without interruption, though it may be left to a child or a lunatic. Whatever that function may be it is obvious that it does not need any special ability in its owner in order to function; an extract from "Harnsworth's Popular Science" illustrates this.

"But many a modern shareholder of means resembles a French nobleman of the old regime.

He knows personally nothing about the workmen who help to earn the dividends on which he lives. All that he knows is that when they strike for higher wages they are striking for a reduction in his income. He often knows no more about the manner in which the income on his capital is obtained than he does about the manner in which the animal from which his meat is sliced was bred and slaughtered."

The great mass of the wealth of all capitalist countries is owned in this way by shareholders, who may know a little or a great deal about their concerns, but who certainly take no part in any of the necessary operations of production. This fact is borne out by a superficial examination. When "the heads" do come down to see us at work they are blissfully ignorant of the meaning of it all, and have to be shown round and have things explained to them. They really have no time for the understanding of things industrial or economic; the pursuit of pleasure absorbs the whole of their useless lives, as Lady Troubridge says in an article in the "Royal Magazine." "The pursuit of pleasure by society has been brought to a fine art, and almost every week has its own special gaiety and distraction . . . The real fact is that the London season is but the culminating point of a year's ceaseless round of gaiety and sport, every month of which is mapped out so as to seize the greatest amount of pleasure that it is possible to obtain." When is their boasted directive ability exercised if they chase pleasure all the year round?

"What do these men and women know?" says the same writer "of the monotony of long, grey days, broken only by tedious work and the weariness of accustomed lights. To them the glittering ball-room with its rose wreathed pillars, its haunting music, its flower-decked tables heaped with dainties, are exchanged before they have time to pall, for the white deck of a yacht, or the moors or uplands of breezy Scotland, and later on for the hunting field and the luxurious country home; and all the time society is preparing for the great culminating burst of gaiety that comes with the flowers of May."

On the one side is all luxury, gaiety and sport, on the other want and misery. The World's workers are robbed of the wealth they produce and then insulted with the hoary tale that if there were no demand for luxuries poverty would be still more widespread—almost sufficient in itself to proclaim the rottenness of the capitalist system. The very fact that they have a superabundance proves that there is no need for anyone to lack the necessities of life, but to claim indulgence as a virtue and give themselves credit for making work, is pure hypocrisy, and should cause every worker to think. In fact, on every hand we find contradictions, inconsistencies, and comparisons that should rouse the workers to thought. Modern society is full of them. Fashionable women spend incalculable sums on dresses and "swaddle their dogs in costly blankets and spray them with priceless scents," while, according to Mr. J. J. Mallon, Secretary of the Anti-Sweating League: "The vast majority of women workers in this country earn less than ten shillings per week." An American millionaire, Lieut. Com. Spofford, bestows one hundred pounds per week on his baby, and Mr. E. McClean's child is known as the twenty million pound baby, while the Rev. J. E. Roberts says that in London alone 122,000 children are under fed. Mr. Lloyd George once told a large audience "that he knew twelve men whose income during the worst days of depression would suffice to keep fifty-thousand working-class families in comfort for one month."

These are a few comparisons taken at random for the thoughtful reader to reflect upon; they should arouse the deepest indignation and the desire to eradicate them. Those who believe in the permanence of the capitalist system can only suggest social reforms of one kind or another, that are easily shown to be impossible or absurd. The very fact that there are no remedies possible of application within the system, proves that the system is responsible and we have to look to that for the cause.

The system of society we live under to day differs from feudalism and chattel slavery,

though like it, both these were forms of slavery. Under feudalism the worker owned the land he tilled and his tools, but was forced to give up a portion of his produce and labour time. Under chattel slavery the workers were bought and sold like cattle. Under capitalism they are stripped of everything in the nature of property and forced to sell themselves.

Under all these systems the workers produced all the wealth of society, yet may only retain, or have returned to them the bare necessities of life. Under each of them they are forced to labour to add to the luxury of a ruling class, while they remain poor.

In Oriental countries where the needs of the workers were scanty and easily supplied, they were forced to labour to add to the luxury and grandeur of their rulers. In capitalist countries it is the same; the more thrifty and efficient the working class becomes, the greater the affluence of the master class.

The merchant character of labour-power is also a condition that breeds and develops antagonism; the germ of the class struggle. This struggle cannot continue indefinitely, though it is bound to go on while labour-power is merchandise; obviously, then, the struggle will cease only when the conditions that engender it come to an end. So-called economic action is useless to this end, because in the main it agrees with the wages system by asking for more, while when it endeavours to be revolutionary it simply challenges armed forces with which it is unable to cope.

The working class have to learn that man frames his system according to the means and methods of producing and distributing wealth, and that they can and must change the system to make it harmonise with the changes that have taken place in the means and methods. That change must be from the present private and class ownership to the common ownership and democratic control of all the means of life.

This is Socialism—the only remedy for poverty in the midst of plenty. In its establishment the working class will receive no assistance from the class above; on the contrary, every obstacle that can hinder the movement will be flung across the path of the revolutionary working class. The workers must therefore preserve their indignation and hatred of the crimes of capitalism. They must be wary of cant and hypocrisy, suspicious of social reformers, and above all, watchful and critical of those who profess to be their friends. In a word, every worker must understand Socialism for himself, then no one can deceive him.

It is part of the policy of the rulers in every country to encourage those who deceive and confuse the workers as to the meaning of Socialism. One section is telling us that Christianity is Socialism, another that the State must own the means of life, another that we must buy out the capitalists. These are easily seen through; the worst frauds are those who tell the workers into apathy by telling them Socialism will come by evolution, and that even now we are in the transition stages.

Socialism can only be established by the deliberate and conscious action of the working class; utterly disregarding the interests of those who oppose them. Before they can arrange or control the details of their own lives they must own and control the means of wealth production. To gain possession of these, they must first control the physical power that protects the capitalist class in their ownership. This is only possible by means of a working-class organisation that will control the political machinery. When the armed forces, through the machinery of government, are controlled by the working class, they can enter into possession of the means of wealth production without bargaining or compensation.

Of the details of the future system we say nothing, content to leave them in the hands of those who control—the people. Lady Troubridge, in the "Royal," says: "Truly this world is a pleasant place for the rich and the gay. . . . Those happy ones whose hearts dance to as merry a tune as the fashionable rag-time music of Cassano's famous band." With modern methods of production and a sane system of society, slavery and poverty would be a thing of the past, and all hearts might dance to whatever tune they pleased. F. F.

at Dublin during a recent labour struggle, women of the working class were dragged from their homes by the hair of their heads and brutally battered by the police. The same witness also affirmed, what was amply borne out by others, that one of the victims of the struggle was felled by a police truncheon, and then deliberately beaten to death by several policemen as he lay helpless on the ground.

How did the modern Huns of capitalist Britain meet the charge of these cowardly atrocities, committed at their behest and in their profit-mongering interests, and witnessed by one of their own politicians? By resorting to that rich product of Western Liberalism—a sham enquiry—and appointing legal bullies to bully the awkward witness out of Court.

The "Hun" in the British master class is revealed in a thousand places. At the very time that the war broke out instances were causing unpleasant attention to be turned to our masters' methods. There was the callous butchery in Dublin, engineered by rival politicians, when four people were done to death, among whom a woman was shot dead, and a boy who was killed received a bullet wound in the back and a bayonet thrust in the thigh. The war came opportunely to divert public attention from this Irish "Louvain." Again, when war broke out thousands of men in the building trades in London had been for many months deprived of their sole means of livelihood—condemned, together with their wives and children, to starvation because they refused to sign a degrading and economically undermining contract form. No snuffing Harold Begbie thought to ask of the starving victims of that "battle for liberty," the ironic question: "What will you lack, Sonny?"

British history, ancient and modern, at home and abroad, is a veritable fabric of atrocity, which can find no parallel in the history of any other race on earth. The early invaders of India may have perpetrated orgies of bloodshed that only the whole European civilisation has been able, after nineteen hundred years of Christian humbug, to surpass; the industrial magnates of America may have provided, in the piping times of peace, examples of lawless violence so open, so naked and unashamed, as to startle even us; but for long exercised, persistent, callous brutality, which is none the less fiendish because it has evolved the cunning to mask itself with legal shame and social sophistries, one can find nothing approaching the industrial history of England.

Let those who want to whine about the atrocities of the Germans first explain away the methods by which the peasantry of feudal England were deprived of their lands and driven from the countryside to become factory slaves; let them cleanse, if they can, the fortunes of the great cotton families of the blood and agony-drops of the thousands of working class children who were murdered to make those fortunes; let them blot out from the memory the scores of shameful scenes from Peterloo to Dublin, in which unarmed British workers have fallen to British bullets; let them tell us what higher "culture" than that of the "modern Huns" is indicated in the preventable sacrifice of railway shutters' lives, the raising of the load line of ships, the contemptuous ignoring of the laws of the mining Acts because the fine for launching 400 miners into eternity is only £24.

Maeterlinck and other sycophantic "intellectuals," playing their prostitute part in the upholding of that system which gives them their "place in the sun," may rail and rave as only they know how, about the German atrocities, but their motives are clear enough. They desire to do two things—to inflame the workers of Britain, France, Russia and Belgium against Germany, and to hide the truth.

And the truth is that atrocity is not a national attribute anywhere or at any time. On the contrary, atrocity belongs, not to nations, but to systems. It is of the very nature of all systems of plunder, and it was and is the common attribute of the Huns of Attila, the Huns of the Kaiser, and the Huns of Asquith, Penryn, Claude Hamilton & Co., and the Huns of Rockefeller and of Carnegie in America, Werner, Beit & Co. in South Africa, Tipoo Tib in Central Africa, and White Wolf in China because all these ancient and modern Attilas were or are

engaged in the robbery of their fellows.

The Maeterlincks and other lickspittles of the capitalist class hope, by their outcry against the German atrocities, to obscure the fact that THE atrocity is not Louvain or Tirlemont or Rheims, but the war itself; not the blood of unarmed victims spilled at the instance of German bullies of the master class, but the whole hell of horrors which has been let loose upon the world by the MASTER CLASS of Europe—Belgian, French, British, and Russian no less than German. Of this colossal atrocity, the bestial and inevitable fruits of the robbery of the working class of the world, Louvain and the other German outrages are but a part, and a comparatively insignificant part.

Refuse, therefore, to have your mental balance upset by the squealing of those who raise the cry of "German barbarism." There can be nothing but barbarism in those who have launched fifteen millions of working men in the field of death in order to decide who shall control the markets where the wealth stolen from the workers may be sold. And those for whom the Maeterlincks speak would welcome ANY atrocities that would, by obscuring the public mind with the false idea that atrocity is a national trait of the German race, prevent the workers from realising that it is the common characteristic of the whole capitalist class, as is revealed in every mill and mine and shunting yard in Britain, in the Carnegie massacre at Pittsburgh and the Rockefeller holocaust in Ludlow City, in the Italian brutalities in Morocco, in the rubber shambles of the Congo and the Putumayo, in the death-trap compounds of the Rand, in the slaughter of Socialists by the new-risen and triumphant capitalists of China and Japan, and in the uncountable acts of barbarity by which the capitalists of every country the wide world over establish and maintain their position of plundering dominance over the working class.

A. E. J.

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF COLONISATION.

(Continued from last issue.)

WHETHER the "Study of British Methods," in which certain European capitalist politicians seem to indulge, is also responsible for the incident which initiated the ghastly human slaughter now in progress, and which incident it greatly benefits the master class of this country to use for the purpose of hiding their own mercenary objects, it is not in our province to investigate. Anyhow, in reviewing the history of the component parts of the British Empire, no one will be at a loss to find precedents enough and to spare for any violation or outrage, however infamous and however revolting, that may have been committed in Belgium. The "glory and greatness of the Empire" is in fact made up of a long series of piratical conquests in which the sole right of Might has been everywhere proclaimed from the housetops, and in which the freedom and independence of millions of people have often been respected less than "scraps of paper."

How the "indisputable right" over some of the millions of square miles in Africa, for example, has been secured, is in living memory; although it must not be supposed that the sordid history which centres round the gold and diamond fields exhausts the resources in the art of brigandage and massacre that the British "haute finance" is capable of commanding. In such books as "With Kitchener to Khartoum," "The Unveiling of Lhasa," etc., etc., typical instances are abundant of how the British "protectors" impose themselves and their "culture" upon small and relatively weak nations. Says the author of the last mentioned account of a Tibetan expedition, speaking of the "strange people we fought and conquered": "We killed several thousand of the simple, brave, and ill-armed men; I was sorry for these Tibetans. Their struggle was so hopeless; . . . Here was all the brutality of war, and none of the glory and incentive. These men were cheerful, jolly fellows—and I have seen their crops ruined, their homes burnt and shelled, the dead lying about the thresholds of what were their homes, and all for no fault of their own—only because

their leaders were politically impossible." But what matter the lives of these people, if the "freedom of trade," or trade-route, in short, the freedom of Capital, is at stake? As the writer adds with regard to these leaders: "Fortunately, however, this slaughter was beginning to put the fear of God into them."

In the face of our present daily records of what "white against white," Christians against Christians, can do, it will easily be granted that the deeds by which resistance to British expansion by the "so much inferior coloured heathen race," has been crushed, not only equal in tale of brutality that is to-day laid to the charge of "the enemy" with regard to Belgium, but certainly outdo the latter in cowardice when we bear in mind that the unfortunate registers of "the invincible forces of civilisation" and Christianity did not dispose of anything like the modern efficient instruments of murder.

And if those who have laid thieves' hands on so great a part of the world's surface and have thereby flouted the independence of millions of people in the past; if those who are responsible for such barbarities as will ever be connected with the establishment of British dominance, whether in Africa, Asia, Australia, or elsewhere; if those who have never tolerated any interference with the "rights of free trade" (i.e., free robbery) and have carried out more "punitive expeditions" and burnt more villages of innocent peoples than the rest of the colonizing nations put together; if these who could stand by, incapable of shame, when recently hundreds of unarmed men and women were done to death or wounded in the blood-stained streets of Johannesburg; if these who range themselves now on the side of these human fiends and very embodiment of oppression and tyranny, whose crimes vary between "Bloody Sunday" and exiling of innocent men and women to the icy dungeons of Siberia: if those now accuse their Continental rivals of savagery and violating the independence of small nations, while at the same time posing as the "trustees of freedom and good conduct," even we—knowing their achievements in hypocrisy—feel bound to admire their insolent audacity in treating the public to this masterpiece of nauseating cant.

Of course, just as the vandalism and beastly deeds, committed by order of the German military authorities, figure in the official chronicles and school-books of the Teutons as heroic achievements, so the merciless usurpations, rapes and massacres which have marked the acquisition of "our" colonial dependencies are gloried in and impressed upon the children of the Empire as examples of British manhood, pluck, and enterprise.

Although to some extent outside the present subject, the foregoing will nevertheless serve to emphasise again the fact that the acquisition of the Colonial Empire is distinguished by the application of the most brutal, up-to-date methods that the machinery of militarism, and law and order is capable of bringing into play. But let us now revert to the subsequent economic policy of our colonial pioneers of "education and native advancement," and see what the cultural trust imposed upon the more advanced peoples comes to.

Authority having once gained a footing, that is to say, the Right of Might having been brought home to the "uncultured heathen," every subsequent activity of the Colonists is subservient to the process of converting all things capable of satisfying human wants and desires into what Providence intended them to be, namely, Commodities, so that they might at last take their proper places, as holy values and sacred property, in the temple of Mammon. The extent of the success of this process is the measure of the "prosperity" and "loyalty" of the Dominions. It goes without saying, that since all things have to become marketable values, this process involves the expropriation of the natives from all nature's gifts—which brings the first virtue: Abstinence. And it is equally plain that only when the native's life is hedged with notices such as:

"No admittance except on business"

"Trespassers will be prosecuted,"

will they lend themselves, or rather be forced, in order to live, to sell and apply their energies in the service of Capital—which brings a further

virtue: Industry. This is so self-evident that we could only describe as child-like naïveté or gross stupidity, Lord Curzon's remark that "he greatly deplored, and had tried his utmost to discourage, the settling of Europeans in an indigenous country with the object of extracting from it the essence which should serve to the natives as means of subsistence." But where would abstinence come in? And what, one may ask, are the Colonists to deal in and export if not the produce they have stolen from the natives?

When, for example, the Chartered Company, who hold immense concessions in Africa, lease (as they have done last year) 1,000,000 acres of land (selected areas to be chosen throughout Rhodesia), at the rental of 1s. an acre, to an enterprising international firm, it is obvious that the latter mean to extract and export the resources of the territory; in other words, these resources no longer belong to their former owners, the aborigines of Rhodesia, who will have to look to the new proprietors (their expropriators) for their means of subsistence, unless they are prepared to quit. Such transactions necessitate, consequently, the absolute disregard of the natives' interests and customs, seeing that if their most vital custom of all were to be observed, namely, the communal ownership (as distinct from private ownership, as in Europe) of all the land, the very object of any capitalist enterprise and colonisation would naturally become illusory. Which is surely more than a Colonial enthusiast, like Lord Curzon, could wish for. Indeed, this deprivation of the native of his primitive means of living and own conditions of labour, is the very basis of all colonization; it is only hypocrites of the type of Curzon or His Excellency Dernburg, who pretend to be ignorant of the fact that in first completely dis-inheriting the mass of the natives, or, in Dernburg's own terminology, in first "fulfilling the cultural trust" is the key to the "great question of how the white man is to retain his hold and domination over mankind of darker colour."

Unfortunately, the proclamation of "Protections" here, and the annexation of large territories there, in short, the theoretic monopoly of the land, and the granting of concessions to trading firms, on the one side, does not always automatically transform the native population into a full-blown wage-workers on the other. However desirable it may be to extract the maximum of surplus-value from this "economically most valuable motive-power," the vastness of the territories and relatively thin population (the Colonies comprising, as a rule, disproportionately larger areas than the respective mother countries), also the widely different climatic conditions—these two main factors render difficult and protract the establishment of an effective, all-embracing control over, and exploitation of, the natives. Hence, the necessity for the professional labour-recruiting agencies; the application of direct force (slavery); the importation of foreign labour: all of which methods have been shown to be practised on a large scale at the present time, as a temporary, if unsatisfactory, solution for the annoying "labour problem."

In the meantime, the mills of economic development are grinding; no sections of natives, hitherto secluded, are to be deprived of the blessings of civilisation and the comforting security it affords. Railways and extensions of railways are constantly opening up new districts and announce to previously obscure tribes the arrival of—the tax-collector; an indispensable means of bringing the native idlers to their senses and to their toil. "If one considers," says deplorably a correspondent in an East African organ, "that there are about 3½ million of people living in the district of Ruanda and Urundi, who, in consequence of the seclusion of their exceedingly rich homelands, still enjoy, at this time of day, complete freedom from tax-paying, the necessity for opening up, through a railway, will at once become obvious." And the "Usambira Post" (27.9.13) stated in support of a railway from Tabora to the Kagaraknie, that "such a railway would open up extraordinarily valuable districts, and that the introduction of the poll-tax there would alone make the railway pay its way."

"No doubt it will cost thousands, but it will bring in millions"—such is their assurance.

Railways in particular are powerful levers of "native advancement"—hence the great activity in this direction. They not only open up, and enable the easy transport of the produce, but of the "human material" as well. The Ovambo and Amboland railways in South-West Africa, for example, were built for the specific purpose of "serving the regular and increased supply of workers for the diamond mines." And during a discussion (4.6.13) of the Government Council in East Africa the following was pointed out: "The idea of a continuation of the North railway up to the Lake Victoria did not originate so much from the endeavour to open up the mystic country of the Squatters and to enter into competition with the Uganda railway, but rather was the plan involved by the desire to confiscate the masses of workers living in the districts of the Lake Victoria." This does not, of course, prevent our colonisers from pretending at the same time that the railways are built in the sole interest of the travelling workers. Indeed, what would a Christian employer not do for the welfare and amenity of the native? "Every friend of theirs," he says, "must advocate the building of railways, seeing that the worker is exposed to many dangers and risks while en route for weeks and months" to the elevating occupation in the death pits of the diamond mines! In the face of the comparative scarcity of workers it would, of course, be deplorable that these arms and "hands" should meet with accidents before having been drained of the "milliard values slumbering in them."

And so, in accordance with the law of development of capitalist production, every activity that the enterprising European traders command in the Colonies, tends to separate the means of production more and more from the native and to concentrate the scattered means more and more under a few controlling concerns, thereby gradually closing to the natives all avenues outside of, and disciplining them for,—the wage-labour market. The exacting of hut-taxes, poll taxes, grazing-dues, etc.; permits for hunting and fishing; the enclosure of large tracks of land either for cultivation or cattle-breeding; the construction of railways and other means of transport and communication, water and irrigation works—these are only a few of the things which supply the precious "indirect pressure" and restrict more and more the liberties of the natives, until eventually they will find no other way to live than by selling their labour-power to their foreign masters. The "labour problem" will then be solved.

Naturally enough, this transition, far from being regarded by the natives as a normal economic development, or from benefiting him, is mostly looked upon as an act of aggression, of conquest—an arbitrary charge wrung from him in bitterness, and leaves behind a deep sense of injury. This resentment has undoubtedly been the cause of most colonial wars and rebellions since the first presence of the white man there, but the fact that the "superior" whites (superior, undoubtedly, in weapons) ever emerge victorious from the fray, again proves that Might is Right.

(To be Continued.)

AGAIN WE TELL YOU.

THE average working man does not like the Socialist to tell him that he is a slave. But nevertheless he is a slave. The only freedom the worker has to-day is the freedom to starve, or to change one employer for another. Even that, he finds from bitter experience, he cannot always do.

If the worker cannot find work to do he has no means to live on. It then soon dawns upon him that if he cannot find an employer to give him work, he will be forced into the workhouse, or, worse still, be compelled to steal and to become an outcast dodging the upkeepers of the capitalist laws.

We are Wage Slaves. It does not matter what class of labour we do, whether we work as navvies, clerks, or mechanics, we all come under the category of working men. The master class call us by one name: his employees.

Now we of the working class do not own the mines, factories, land, etc. We have no alternative, therefore, but to go to those that do own

them, and ask them to give us permission to work. One thing is obvious: we have to work in order to live. If someone else owns the means by which we live then we are subservient to them. Are we not, therefore, slaves, when we have to ask others to let us work for them in order that we may live?

It is only when we can make a profit for them (the masters) that we are allowed to work, so the thoughtful man can easily see that we are not considered for a moment. When the markets are glutted and our employers cannot sell the commodities we have produced, we are given the sack.

The poverty of the worker when he is working, and the nerve-wrecking fear of unemployment, makes his position as a wage slave worse than any previous form of slavery that was perpetrated upon his ancestors. The chattel slave had comparative security. We have not. The serf had security, less work, and more leisure, than we have.

The working man has no property. He can live in a house—or rooms—just so long as he can pay rent for it. He can go on paying rent for 50 years and the house is not his. His furniture! Ah, yes! That is his so long as he can pay the rent. If he cannot fulfil his obligations to the landlord then his furniture is taken.

To put the case in a few words, we own nothing but the power to work. As we own no property, I repeat, we are the slaves to those that do. "He owns my life who owns the means by which I live" is as true now as when Shakespeare wrote it. It will be, too, as long as we, the working class, like to keep a parasitic class upon our backs.

It is no longer necessary to do this. The capitalist class has served its purpose. It is now suffering from disorganisation and decrepit old age. The working class is the last class to achieve its freedom. We have now to carry out OUR mission. That is to take over the means of producing and distributing wealth ourselves, and use in the interests, not of a few, but of the whole community.

It should be obvious to the worker, surely, that if we control our own means of living, we will put an end to slum dwellings and unhealthy places to work in. The majority of diseases and complaints which the worker suffers from are the result of the conditions under which he works or the unsanitary, over-crowded dwellings wherein he lives. That would be obliterated, never to show its ugly form in the future.

That is the goal before us. The ending of poverty which is the result of the private ownership of the means of life.

With the common ownership of the world's means of production the social evils that we are faced with to-day would never occur again. That briefly is what Socialism offers. It is your place to take a firm stand one way or the other. If you do not believe that what we say is right, then fight us vigorously. But if you believe in the principles and policy which we expound, join us and help us to end such a system as can only hold out to the workers in their youth, starvation and misery as the fruits of unending and arduous toil, and in their old age, a five shilling pension or the workhouse. The means of producing wealth are now so fertile that only fools can accept poverty as a necessary condition of society to-day.

J. G. W. STONE.

"SOCIALISM"

DETAILS

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

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AND

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(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
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Clapton, N. Marshall Rd.	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Roe	F. Vickers	H. Joy
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Timms	A. Wallis	T. W. Lobb	A. Bays
Finsbury Park	7.30 G. Seech	A. Bays	A. Kohn	A. W. Pearson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 A. Kohn	H. Joy	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother
Hampstead, Jack Straw's Gate	7.30 J. Ward	R. Reynolds	L. Lytton	J. Wray
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	11.30 C. Elliott	W. Pass	E. Lake	A. Jacobs
Ilford (Station)	7.30 F. Vickers	A. Kohn	J. Fitzgerald	J. Le Coute
Kensington, Portobello Rd. Lat. Rd.	7.30 A. Leslie	J. Wray	A. Jacobs	J. Ward
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 A. Barker	A. W. Pearson	S. Blake	H. Cooper
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Jacobs	B. Young	J. Brown	R. Reynolds
Peckham Triangle	7.30 J. Brown	C. Parker	A. Leslie	J. Fitzgerald
Tooting Broadway	11.30 B. Young	J. Fitzgerald	F. Thorne	T. Wilks
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30 S. Blake	T. W. Lobb	C. Baggett	A. Wallis
Victoria Park	11.30 B. Campbell	C. Baggett	R. Reynolds	A. Barker
Waltham Green Church	7.30 H. Joy	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	C. Elliott
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	11.30 A. Wallis	A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	G. Seech
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	7.30 A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	H. Joy	C. Baggett
	4.0 A. Jacobs	G. Seech	A. W. Pearson	F. Vickers
	7.30 E. Fairbrother	H. Cooper	G. Seech	A. Anderson
	7.30 T. W. Lobb	B. Young	A. Jacobs	G. Seech
	11.30 R. Reynolds	T. W. Lobb	A. Bays	A. Kohn

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
 Kilburn, Victoria Rd., 8. Walthamstow, Hoe St. Station, 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Elthorne-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30.
 Ilford, Station, 8. Battersea, Moorsbury-rd., Lavender-hill, 8. Chelsea, World's End, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Marylebone, Lord High Admiral, Church-st., 8.
SATURDAYS.—Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30. St. Luke Newington, Palantine-rd., 8. Harrow, St. Ann's Rd., Greenhill, 8. Fulham, Vale Rd., King's Rd., 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
EAST LONDON.—A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Eric-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.
EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.
FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 205 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.
GRAVESEND.—Secy. Geo. Richmond, 3 Cooper's Row, Northfleet.
ILFORD.—"Secretary," 119 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30.
KILBURN.—J. Korinck, Sec., 94 Carlton-rd., Kentish Town, N.W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 69 High-rd. Kilburn (side door).
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.
MARYLEBONE.—S. W. Todd, Sec., 16 Clarendon Ter., Maida Vale, W. Branch meets Sats., at 7.30, at Bennett's Restaurant, 82 Lisson-grove N.W.
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NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.
PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.
SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets altn. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary 82, Midmay-rd., Newington Green.

Branch business 1st and 3rd Mons., public discussion other Mons. 8.15 at 102, Farleigh-rd.
TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.
TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.
WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd. Walthamstow. Branch meets altn. Mondays at 8.30 at the Wickman's Hall 84, High-st.
WATFORD.—A. Lawton, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave., Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 450, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

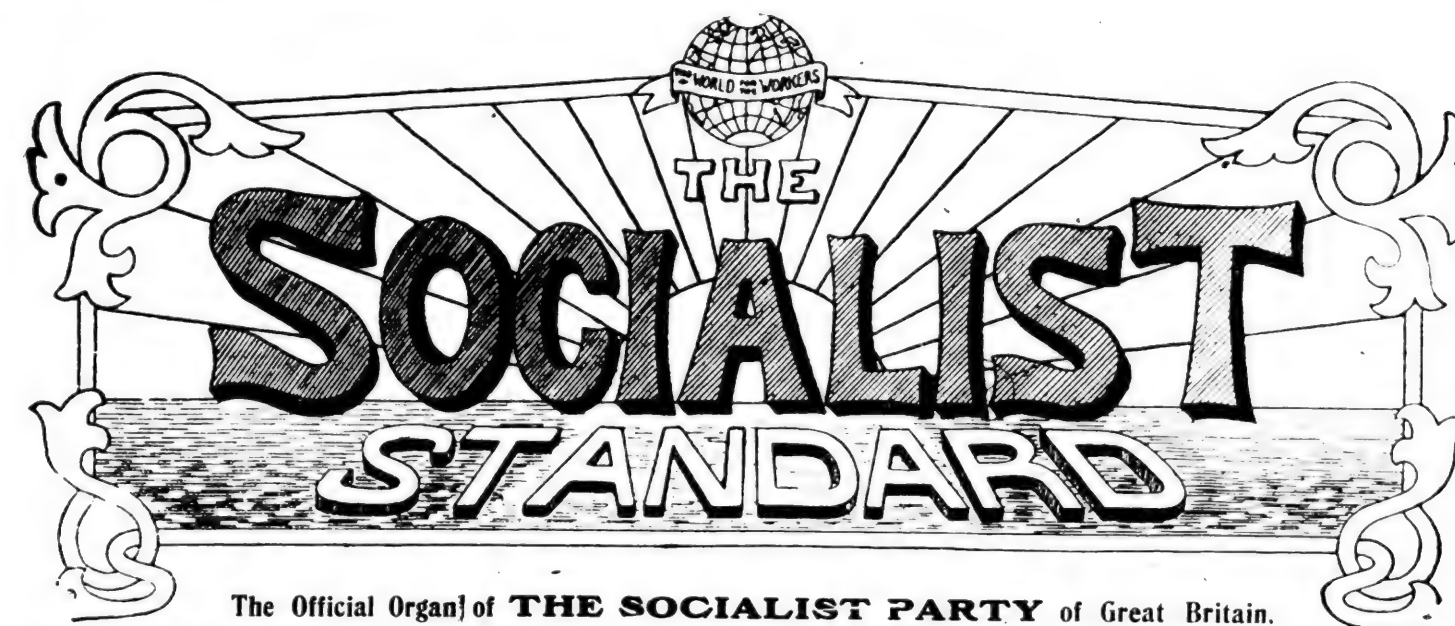
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No. 123. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

PEACE IN THE HANDS OF THE WORKERS.

FELLOW Members of the Working Class,—

To-day is being waged the greatest military struggle of all history. The flower and manhood of the five greatest races of this continent strive with all the resources which science has placed in their hands to slaughter their fellows. You are told by our masters' Press that the German soldiers do not know what they are fighting about, or even who their enemies are—but do you know these things either?

Many reasons for the war have been given, but only the Socialists have given the true reason. It is this:

In every advanced country the improvements in machinery and methods enable the workers to produce far more wealth than is needed to maintain them in working efficiency. Of this wealth all beyond what is essential for the upkeep of the workers' efficiency is retained by the masters.

As machinery improves, this surplus grows greater, and presents to the masters this ever-increasing problem: Where can they find a market for it?

Here we have the cause of the present struggle. It is commercial rivalry and nothing else.

Fellow workers, 600 years ago the means for producing wealth were very crude, yet a man could produce enough to keep his family and himself for a whole year by twelve weeks labour. What vast strides have been made since then in the instruments of labour, and how many times has been doubled the fertility of our toil! Yet the late Campbell-Bannerman said that "about 30 per cent. of the population is living in the grip of perpetual poverty."

What, then, has been the effect of this remarkable increase in the fertility of human labour, if it has not lifted those who labour above the pinch of poverty?

The effect has been this: The workers have had to become the wage-slaves of those who own the machinery, factories and the like. What they produce, then, passes out of their hands. It belongs to their masters. They have lost control over the product of their toil, and it becomes their bitterest foe.

If the workers in the Middle Ages produced more than they required, they could store it for a niggard season, leave it to rot in the fields, or take things easy and produce less. It could not hurt them because it belonged to them, and they had full control over it. To-day, however, the wealth which the workers produce in excess of what is essential to enable them to go on working, belongs to their employers. It accumulates until the markets are glutted and the warehouses full, and then it throws its producers out of work because no buyers can be found for it. And not only this: it faces the masters with the problem of finding an outlet for it in the World Market, and so the workers from whom it has been stolen are called upon to shoulder rifles and go and shoot their fellow workers in other lands in order that this stolen wealth may be taken to, and realised or sold in, the markets of the world.

Centuries of progress in "the arts of peace," generations of the march of science and the "conquest of the forces of nature," while they have enabled our masters to heap up gigantic wealth, have brought only starvation and misery to the workers. The good things of life can be produced with ease and abundance, but under the present system they result only in murder and chaos.

The remedy is for the WORKING CLASS to take over the whole of the means of production and distribution, in order that what they produce may belong to them. They will then have control of the product of their hands and brains, and will use it for its logical purpose—to satisfy the needs of those who produce it.

When the workers have ceased to be plundered, there will no plunder for a class of plunderers to make war over, and peace will be the portion of humanity at last.

WORKERS, STUDY SOCIALISM!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY HOPE OF THE WORKERS!

WAR AND RELIGION.

BY "THE TIMES."

O.C.

"The Times" (4.10.14), lifting itself above the mere economic advantages we are supposed to gain by the war, endeavoured to prove spiritual gains as well. "No feature of the war has been more striking than the religious feeling it has evoked," they said. War, which increases the uncertainty of life, has so unsettled the minds of the workers that their doubts and fears of the future have intensified. Without a philosophy based on science man becomes an easy prey to priestly lies. Regarding his own physical anatomy as something amazingly wonderful, and far beyond his poor understanding, he is easily persuaded that he has a soul that transcends even his physical possessions; and the eternal existence of that soul in peace or torment depends upon his conduct while crawling about the earth in subjection to those who have taken possession of it.

Life is the only state that human beings can know, because it is only in life we possess consciousness and can know anything at all. The scientific mind accepts nothing without evidence, and neither science, religion, or philosophy has yet produced one shred of evidence to prove even the likelihood or possibility of consciousness, spirit, or any other known or unknown force existing apart from the substance or matter to which it belongs.

Scientists—in the laboratory—are practically agreed that the Cosmos is Matter in Motion, and nebulae, constellations, systems, geological and biological periods, and even the existence of different substances, are but changing manifestations of Matter in Motion. "Every living creature," said a recent president of the "International Science Association," "is, after all, merely a chemical mechanism," and anyone that has read an intelligible work on physiology, explaining the functions and interdependence of organs, can appreciate that statement. An acquaintance with evolution, showing how both organs and functions have developed simultaneously, is sufficient evidence of its truth for anyone whose income is not affected. Consciousness or thought is the function of the brain, just as digestion is the function of the stomach. Digestion is impossible without digestive organs and food—though the wage-slave is often forced to try the experiment without the latter. Neither can consciousness exist without nerve ganglia, or brain and so nothing external to be conscious of. Science thus establishes the oneness or Monism of the Cosmos—but only for the cultured ruling class of society: the ignorant superstitions of the dark ages, slightly modified, are good enough for the workers.

In the supreme anarchy of a capitalist war events seem more than ever to be the result of chance, and gods, muses, and oracles are brought out, dusted, and worshipped; and "The Times," with characteristic hypocrisy and satisfaction, remarks that the "War has evoked religious feeling."

"Nothing in man is more real than the instinct that urges him to sacrifice himself for an ideal which to him is dearer than life itself," says "The Times." We pass over the obvious error that there can be any sacrifice where something dearer than what is given is the objective, and the equally obvious admission that man does not always act according to intelligence—even in important matters—but proves himself allied to the rest of the animal world by virtue of the fact that he still acts from instinct—when intelligence fails him.

But is it not characteristic of capitalist hypocrisy that the actions of their dupes should be attributed to instincts and ideals, when it is common knowledge that necessity has compelled the vast majority to enlist. True, they sing and laugh as they march, but that does not prove that they have acted with either freedom or intelligence. It proves only that they have caught the war fever and are incapable, for the time being, of understanding or realising the actual situation—so aptly described and forcibly denounced by Israel Zangwill: "That they are food for powder, so coarse in texture; carcasses so gross and sub-human, that their best use is to be thrown to the guns—a providential fire screen for the finer classes."

The business of the ink-alinger to day is to manufacture high-sounding phrases that appear to be loaded with importance, yet when analysed mean little or nothing. "War is a supreme test of reality," says "The Times." All the nations bluff, but only the contact of forces determines which is really the strongest—just as the opponents of Socialism can always destroy it any where but in debate. If there is sense in the statement, then the following from the same source obviously contradicts it. "Faith in force is a poor substitute for faith in right. Force is a sorry god"; and the sentences that immediately follow are a reversion to the original statement that it is force that rules: "For, when a stronger strength arises to shatter it, nought but despair and doubt remain."

But twice is not sufficient for "The Times" to contradict itself, so it throws over the first and third position and once more takes up the second: "When as we are firmly persuaded, the Allied Armies shall have overthrown the German's divinity, the German people itself may learn the futility of trust 'in reeking tube and iron shard,' and turn again to the higher trust which their greatest teachers have inculcated upon them and upon the world."

Next "The Times" says: "Faith and the spirit of sacrifice are the essence of religion, just as scepticism and selfishness are its negation." The above definition of religion we might dispute, were it not that the word "essence" is not so clearly defined in capitalist politics and philosophy as in chemistry. The essential belief, and therefore the essence of religion, is belief in the supernatural. A code of morals, even including the "spirit of sacrifice," without such a belief cannot be called a religion, no matter who imposes it. But this "spirit of sacrifice," is undoubtedly a tenet of the Christian dogma, and eminently suits it for the capitalist system.

First let us see what is its actual meaning. To labour for others; to risk life, or even to die, for others. Under this heading comes the whole of the working class. They live in poverty while they produce fabulous wealth for an idle class. They risk their lives daily and die in thousands for them on the field of battle. What we see then, is that the "essence of religion" so-called is really the purpose or object. So long as religion induces millions of workers to continue their life long sacrifice, the capitalist will generously permit them to think of themselves as sheep led on the altar of civilisation, i.e., capitalist illness and luxury.

But what of the other side: "Scepticism and selfishness are its negation." Every shareholder's meeting, of every concern, at home or abroad, is evidence of capitalist greed. One eighth of the population takes two-thirds of the national wealth, and leaves one-third for the other seven-eighths. Avarice has been the watch word of the commercial class since the break-up of the guilds. How to get more out of their wage-slaves while reducing their rations has been, and is still, the most engrossing problem. Vultures snarling over raw flesh are less repulsive than capitalist governments quarrelling over markets and using the working class—after exploiting them—as "a providential fire screen."

So much for their selfishness. It is unnecessary to marshal evidence to prove their scepticism, they show their contempt for the promises of future happiness and threats of punishment every day of their lives. They have no use for a religion that instructs them to "sell all they have and give unto the poor"; nor do they care a tinker's anathema for a "place on high," if it is to be obtained by sacrificing a "place in the sun" here below. The capitalist has no "faith" in another life, and the "spirit of sacrifice" is not "business." He is the embodiment of the "negation of religion," "scepticism and selfishness."

"War," concludes "The Times," "with all its horrors and suffering, has at least this bright side. It lifts mankind out of its daily self, and suffuses the drab life of the multitude with a spiritual glow. In such an atmosphere the still voice of the divine spirit of the universe may be clearly heard, despite the clamour and clash of arms." The colour has changed from drab to crimson. Poverty has intensified, and the murders committed annually on the industrial field, for profits, are being augmented by thousands daily; yet mankind has gained something, "a

spiritual glow"—searchlights. But what does the "still voice" say?—we are not told. Possibly the black-coated hypocrites are waiting for their orders from the representatives of that class in whose interest they teach and write such lies and rubbish for the confusion of the workers. F. F.

THE CALL OF THE "PATRIOT."

O.C.

FELLOW WORKERS.—During the last three months there has been staring at you from every hoarding, from trams, buses, and stations, from vans, warehouse walls, and notice boards on churches, from the pages of the newspapers and every other available space, the statement that:

"YOUR KING AND COUNTRY NEED YOU." This statement, showing, if you will but think, how important and vitally necessary you are to the ruling class, has been re-iterated again and again, with innumerable variations, from countless pulpits and platforms up and down the country. Urgent appeals by the hundred thousand have been made to all "fit" men to enlist; every device and every weapon that the "liberty-loving" masters could invent, from the call of a sham patriotism to the wholesale sacking of employees; from lying to bribery; from silent coercion to the insults of the white feather brigade, and from this to the deliberate suppression of hostile opinion, have been used either to entice or drive you into the ranks. For you, fellow workers, are to day, as you always are, indispensable to the bosses, both for the production of profits in the "piping times of peace" (!) and for cannon fodder and the slaughter of the "enemy" in times of war.

Without you the masters are helpless; without you the State collapses and the rulers of the one country cannot hope to win in their struggle against the rulers of another country; and knowing this, and recognising YOUR supreme importance, the bosses have been moving heaven and earth, spending money like water, lying like Christians, combining cajolery with economic pressure, and ringing the changes on every form of cant, from "stirring" appeals to your manhood to virulent denunciation of your indifference or backwardness, in order to make YOU go and fight battles from which you will receive the usual rewards of empty honour, broken health, wounded bodies, or the eternal silence of the grave.

The reasons advanced why you and the working men of Europe should fight each other have been many, and we could fill a column with the contradictions of the politicians, the black coats, and the "intellectuals" on this matter. Any excuse has been good enough so long as it has had the effect of making you and the German working men defend your respective masters. From the violation of treaties by Germany to deliberate provocation on the part of England; from Russian Court intrigue to the capture of international trade; from the rottenness of secret diplomacy to the enthronement of Atheism; from the policy of "blood and iron" to the jealousy and hatred of the Allies: each and every excuse in its turn, according to whether the apologist was pro-British or pro-German, has been offered as justification for the infamy now going on, and as a reason why you should take part in it.

In England it is declared to be a war for "liberty, righteousness, democracy," and other bunkum—although the bosses occasionally give the game away by stating, as the "Sunday Chronicle" of August 30th, that "the men in the trenches are fighting on behalf of the manufacturer, the millowner, and the shopkeeper." In Germany it is declared to be a conflict in which the ruling class of England, Russia, and Japan have combined to reduce her to the level of a fifth-rate power, and to render her politically, militarily, and above all economically, impotent for ever. And each side, using every possible device, has dragged you and your fellow-workers abroad into the arena.

You had neither lot, voice, nor counsel in the events leading to the conflict; YOUR place while it lasts is that of automata, conscious only to obey blindly and, if need be, to suffer; and your lot after it is over will be the usual lot of your class, the lot of the poor, the down-trodden and the oppressed everywhere.

Of the forces now engaged not more than five per cent. come from the ranks of the well-to-do. YOU furnish the remaining ninety five per cent. YOU have to bear the infinitely greater proportion of the deaths, the disease, the permanent injury and the awful strain, while those who goad you on with sweet words or threats, rest securely and comfortably in their easy chairs in club or office, killing the enemy every day with their mouths, but taking particular care, in the vast majority of instances, never to risk their precious carcasses within a hundred miles of the actual conflict.

We Socialists would therefore ask you to put on your considering caps and think for yourselves, instead of allowing the capitalist Press, Tory, Liberal, and sham Labour, to think for you.

When the war is over, and you are tramping the country, as you will be in many cases; when you and those near and dear to you hunger and thirst; when you feel the whip of semi-starvation and the gaunt spectre of want in your daily companion, will your "King and Country" need you then? Does not your daily experience teach you that you have no country, that you are landless and propertyless? Does it not show you that here, as in Germany, the land and its fatness belong to the masters, your portion being a mean tenement in a mean street, with the bare means of existence, and then only if you are lucky enough to get work?

When the bosses ask you to fight—to offer your lives for "democracy and liberty against militarism"; when they pose as the defenders of oppressed people, and express themselves deeply concerned to uphold justice, humanity, and right, ask them why it is that they have so long practised in England—practise to this day—the tyranny and oppression they now de nounce abroad.

The present British Government, the "champions of liberty," through their then Home Secretary, Churchill, prepared, previous to the railway workers going on strike, and turned out at the request of the railway magnates, no less than 58,000 troops, crushing by militarism the attempt of those workers to slightly improve their admittedly rotten conditions of existence.

This Government, "the apostle of humanity," during the last London Dock strike—when the men merely asked that agreements previously entered into by the Government itself should be honoured—placed at the disposal of the capitalist Devonport and the gang around him, an unlimited supply of police and military, and deliberately starved the women and children, in some cases to death, in order to break the resistance of the men.

This Government, the "defender of freedom, the upholder of justice, and right," endorsed martial law, the denial of all liberty and the firing on defenceless crowds in S. Africa; it batoned 700 men in Dublin, turned out the military against YOU at Belfast, Llanelli, Leith, the Rhondda valley and elsewhere; it has callously refused to give underfed children sufficient food; it mocks with pretty words, but cynical, brutal inaction, the condition of the ever-growing army of unemployed; it has sanctioned wholesale imprisonment, exile and butchery, in India, Persia, Egypt, and the New Hebrides, and allied itself with the infamies perpetrated in Russia and Japan: in a word, it reeks with lying pretence and self-satisfied Pharisaism, for in very truth, it is the ever willing tool of autocracy, capitalism, and class rule and the deadly enemy of the working class everywhere.

Ask this or any capitalistic Government for their credentials, examine their records, and you will learn that, beyond all dispute, whether it be England or Russia, France or Belgium, Germany or Japan, there is, so far as YOU are concerned, no difference between them whatever. They are all made in the same mould, filled with the same lust—the lust of exploiting YOU. When it suits them they flatter you; but when you ask them for a little of the justice they now prate about, then they insult, imprison and often murder you. To-day they want you badly, for they are at war with each other and want YOU to do THEIR dirty work; but remember that whoever wins or loses, your lot will be the same; the politician will still soft-scap you; the industrial machine will still grind you, and poverty and all that it means will still enchain you.

If, therefore, you are wise, if you are men, if

you are really anxious for freedom from slavery, then look around you here, and you will soon learn the truth, that it is your class which is denied this freedom, and denied it by the very class who now call upon you to act. One law for the rich and one for the poor. Adulation, servility and the world's wealth for the rich; grinding toil, insecurity and eternal hardship for the poor—these are the commonplace of every day life. Is it not so?

Your duty, then, is to fight against this, and the only way you can fight successfully is by understanding your position in society, realising that wars and hate, malice and theft, oppression and greed, class rule and the travail of the workers the world over, are to-day born of capitalism. This is the root evil; it is this you have to war against if you would be free, for all else is futile; and when you do this, BUT NOT BEFORE, then liberty will be with you as your possession; there will be no oppressed peoples, for the might of the working class, organised consciously for the overthrow of the modern octopus, will have conquered, and the international commonwealth will be here. F. V.

THE FORUM.

O.C.

DOES ECONOMIC POWER REST UPON POLITICAL POWER?

O.C.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

Boston Rd., Bronx, New York.

July 27, 1914.

Sir,—I would like to have your opinion on a certain question to settle a dispute between a friend of mine and myself.

Volume I of "Capital" by Karl Marx, Chapter 3, page 152 (Kerr's edition), 12th line of the first paragraph, states as follows: "In the Middle Ages the contest ended with the ruin of the feudal debtors, who lost their political power together with the economical power on which it was established."

I maintain that the line gives the inference that the political power is based upon the economic power. My friend says that the economic power is based upon the political power. What I would like to know is whether Karl Marx was wrong.

Yours, J. BRANDON.

Our correspondent's question and quotation leaves several previous questions unanswered. And firstly, the quotation is incorrect. Marx's statement is:

"In the middle-ages the contest ended with the ruin of the feudal debtors, who lost their political power together with the economic basis on which it was established." (Italics ours.)

It is easy to see that this alters the entire aspect of the question; while it is extremely significant that Marx carefully distinguishes between "political power" and the economic basis on which that power rests. In it's correct form no such inference as Mr. Brandon gives can be drawn from Marx's words, and that inference, therefore, falls to the ground.

But there are still other questions left. Every student of Marx knows how frequently he warned his readers against attempting to apply the conditions of one system as an explanation of the facts of another system. Mr. Brandon takes a factor from the feudal system of society and tries to use it as an explanation of a condition of capitalism. Hence another failure in his attempted argument. Karl Marx was right, but Mr. Brandon is wrong.

Briefly stated the matter stands as follows: Under feudalism the individual's right of citizenship was based in towns upon his being a master of a craft, and, in the country, upon his being a member of the manor, with certain portions of the arable land for his maintenance, along with rights of common land and woods. When the increasing taxation by King and Government, along with the competition of the new, uprising, commercial adventurers, drove the master craftsman to the money-lender, and he was unable to pay the latter, he lost his position in guild and town and became an outcast. He thus lost his political power along with the basis upon which it had rested.

The peasant in the country had to perform

various services for the Lord of the Manor, who, later, began to commute these services for money-payments. But here again, money payments meant debts. If unable to pay these debts, then the peasant lost his holdings in the manor, and also became an outcast, thereby losing his political power along with his previous economic position.

Under feudalism the wage working class did not exist. Under capitalism the position is entirely different.

When the capitalist method of production and distribution became the prevailing one, the capitalist class, as such, had no political position they could claim from feudalism. Partly they made one by "lending" and "donating" large sums to needy monarchs in return for, first, trading privileges, and later, political power; partly by purchasing manors and the political rights attached. But the old aristocracy still were an important section politically. Hence the agitation against "the rotten boroughs" by the capitalists, who urged the working class—now fully fledged wage slaves, without any political rights at all—to den and the franchise. At first extended to the possessors of any form of wealth, as distinct from the old landed forms, it has gradually been extended to a point where mere tenancy for a given time at a small rental suffices to place a man upon the voter's register. Here we see political power existing without any economic power at all, with only the tiniest economic basis to rest upon, and even that tending to disappear—in Adult Suffrage without residential qualifications.

The explanation is to be found—as Marx has pointed out—in the economic conditions of modern capitalism, a matter beyond the space at our present disposal to deal with.

Other phases of this matter are dealt with in the "Socialist Standard" of May, 1909.

J. F.

PARTY PARAGRAPHS.

O.C.

A Branch of the Party has now been formed in Birmingham. For particulars readers in the district are referred to the Branch Directory on the back page.

O.C.

Party Members and sympathisers are reminded of their duty to assist us in our propaganda work by every means in their power. This duty is more urgent now than ever. The Englishman's proverbial "love of fair play," and his devotion to the "rights of minorities," have already been manifested at several of our meeting places. Two of our comrades have been arrested and victimised, and a few meetings have had to be cancelled.

Nevertheless, our work is telling, and as the vast majority of our hearers welcome our message, they should firmly make up their minds not to allow a few mistaken individuals to spoil the good work. We are strong enough to hold our own if those who are with us will translate their good will and convictions into active support. Not only in France and Belgium is there fighting to be done, positions to be held, manhood to be proved, and victory to be finally achieved.

O.C.

Our literature in the War is in great demand and every effort should be made to place it in the hands of the workers. It will act as an antidote to the "poison of the Press" served up by the master class in their lust for blood.

O.C.

From the Socialist Party of Canada, the Socialist Party of North America, and the Socialist Party of Italy come manifestoes opposing this capitalist war.

O.C.

Economic classes have been opened at Tooting and Battersea, and a public discussion is held every Friday at 8.30 p.m. at the Socialist Hall, 41, Albert Road, Peckham, S.E.

O.C.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. SHARMAN (Enfield). A reply to you will appear in our next.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

The Socialist, however, knows better. He knows that Prussian militarism has been and is nothing more than the force instrument by means of which German capitalists calculate to win and maintain a preferential place in the

Hence the road of plotting and scheming and "building up" for the next great war must begin even before the grass grows over the myriads of corpses of this one. And this road of blood and tears must be followed the human race until the working class of the world, for the opportunity to exploit whom all modern wars are fought, determine to find their emancipation in Socialism. In the name of suffering humanity we call you to our banner!

is concerned. "Our board-school education stopped at the "three R's," with the possible extension to some technical training that would be of use to our masters. So soon as the child of the toiler is old enough to learn and understand he is hauled off to the field and factory to sweat for an employer. He is "educated" enough to pull a lever so many times a minute, to label jam jars or work a machine to stamp out blacking tins, until he becomes exhausted; or maybe he views London architecture fourteen

Society is divided into two classes—the master class and the working class. Between them is the CLASS WAR.

But the I.L.P. is a portion of the Labour Party. The Labour Party is a small part of the Liberal Party, and is entirely dependent upon

We thus have the illuminating spectacle of that organisation through its National Council and branches opposing the war, its prominent members supporting that war by encouraging enlistment, and the organisation as a whole

forming part of the Labour Party that lends "its whole machinery" to the aid of the Government. Truly, a "supreme ironic procession," as Meredith would say.

In these acrobatic and contortionist actions a serious rival is found in the B.S.P.

Like the I.L.P., it joined in a protest against England going to war. Then it wobbled for a while, and now it presents a pretty spectacle. In a paper called "Justice" (Aug. 25th), Mr. Hyndman says that all they can do at present is "to denounce the infamous German invasion of Belgium, to applaud the splendid resistance and self-sacrifice of that noble little people, and to hope for the speedy and total rout of the Prussian military caste."

One may ask why the latter sentiment is restricted to Prussia? Has Russia no military caste? Is France free from such a thing? And has Mr. Hyndman ever heard of Mr. Blatchford and Lord Roberts in England? The British Navy League, so strongly supported by Mr. Hyndman, is, of course, a "caste" to spread peace and amity among the nations, not to prepare for and urge on the war.

When Mr. Norman objects that Belgium's treatment of the people of the Congo was hardly the best example of brotherly love, Mr. Hyndman replies by saying: "We all know that the late King Leopold's rule in the Congo was abominable. Was Louvain sacked on that account?" ("Justice," 17.9.14.) If we venture to answer the latter query we are inclined to say No! But in the interests of fair play we should also have to admit that we have not yet heard that the Germans gave this as a reason for their action.

He also says in the same issue: "The treacherous and ruffianly attack upon neutral little Belgium settled the matter for me. It would have been infamous if we had failed to declare war on her behalf, and in order to save France from destruction."

Several questions at once crop up at this answer. How many attacks upon little States by big powers have been other than "treacherous and ruffianly"? And who are the "we" that are going to "save France from destruction"? Of the two classes in this country which should take on this task? Obviously the capitalist class, as it is their quarrel. But they are exactly the class that are not doing so, while the workers, of whom Mr. Hyndman has said over and over again that they are as well—or as bad—off in Germany as in England, evidently have no interest in the matter at all.

And Belfort Bax, who is supposed to be well-acquainted with German affairs, says: "The military camarilla which dictates to Germany, and which has engineered the present war, is of Prussian origin." ("Justice," 10.9.14. Italics ours.)

Where the "intellectuals" lead the lesser lights will follow. Mr. W. Thorne, M.P., assisted Major Hogg, Captain Passingham, Colonel Palmer, and several other agents of the capitalist class in running a recruiting meeting at the Public Hall, Canning Town, on Monday, Sept. 14th, and moved a resolution stating his profound belief that: "We are fighting in a just cause, and to vindicate the right of small States and the public law of Europe." ("Stratford Express," 19.9.1914.) The latter phrase sounds important, and having neither sense nor meaning behind it, it is just the sort of claptrap Thorne could give off.

He also said that when the news of the battles at Mons and Cambrai came "he put his International Socialism in the reference library for the time being." (*Ibid.*) Carping critics may object that he never had any "Socialism," International or other, to bring out, but they may be ignored in this crisis. "When his party met he was one of the first to be in favour of the Chairman and the two Whips being part of the Recruiting Committee, and he did not regret it." (*Ibid.*) Referring to the treatment of the soldiers and their dependants, he said: "These men, when they come back maimed, should not be allowed to go into the workhouse, or walk about the streets selling laces and matches." What they should be allowed to do Mr. Thorne did not say. Perhaps he thinks they had better sell bananas! Anyhow, "If that happened again it would be a standing disgrace to the

country." (Italics ours. *Ibid.*) "Standing" disgrace because, we suppose, it has such a huge number of disgraces already that there is no room for any of them to sit down.

Besides, seeing the large amount of distress existing in Canning Town now among the dependants of the soldiers, we can give a guess as to the conditions that will prevail when these men "come back maimed." Starvation will be their share. One disgrace more or less can hardly disturb the equanimity of "this country."

One result of the "unity" shown above is that no contests will take place at the next Municipal election in West Ham so far as Labour, Progressive, and Alliance Parties are concerned. They are all agreeing to leave the Wards represented as they are at present. "The Kaiser," to quote the above mentioned issue of the "Stratford Express," "has brought peace to West Ham!"

Finally, the B.S.P. issue a manifesto wherein they state: "Recognising that the national freedom and independence of this country are threatened by Prussian militarism, the Party naturally desires to see the prosecution of the war to a speedy and successful issue." After a list of the usual hopeless hopes that it terms a practical programme, the Manifesto winds up as follows: "The British Socialist Party advises its representatives who are invited to take part in the general recruiting campaign, to accept such invitations provided they are permitted to speak from the common platform in support of the national programme and policy set forth above." ("Justice," 17.9.14.)

So their wobbling ends by their coming down on the side of the Government. Yet not altogether. In "Justice" for Sept. 24th it is stated that Stepney, North West Ham, and Bow and Bromley branches of the B.S.P. are opposed to this Manifesto. But doubtless such impertinence will be nipped in the bud by the Executive Committee publishing the amount of dues these branches owe the Centre.

The various and varying phases of capitalist development give many opportunities to the working class to discover their enemies. The gigantic war now in progress, involving the maiming and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of our class, has shown clearly how those enemies, from Benar Law to Asquith, from Sir Edward Gray to Ramsay MacDonald, from Carson to Redmond, from Keir Hardie to Hyndman, and from W. Thorne to R. C. K. Ensor, are lined up in one camp—the capitalist camp—with the various organisations they represent.

The Socialist alone remains to point the moral, draw the lesson, and show the workers that not until they take control of affairs for themselves will they have the decision of Peace or War in their hands, and to show them how the necessity to do this means the carrying of the CLASS WAR to its conclusion, whereby wars of all kinds will be abolished. J. F.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
8 NORTH STREET,
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME,

for particulars as to joining, etc.
The "Socialist Standard" and all other Party literature may also be had from the above.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with
TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE,
REDDISH LANE, HORTON,
from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to
G. BONE, 85, SOUTHFIELDS RD.,
CHISWICK, W.,
from whom all Party literature may be had.

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF COLONISATION.

(Continued from last issue.)

"THERE are some 830 millions of the neo-Caucasian race of the world, who are either uncultured or backward or retrograde in their mode of life, who stand at present entirely aloof from our civilization, who in the eyes of most white men are helots, without rights to be maintained or feelings to be considered. At the present time these 830 millions of black, brown, and yellow men are unable to wage war on the white man on anything like equal terms. To his aggressive advance they can only oppose a passive resistance; often they are quite without defence against his conscious or unconscious cruelty. Out of this total of 830 millions of backward peoples at least 365 millions dwell within the limits of the British Empire or its sphere of political influence. If we are going to—I will not say exterminate, for that is now impossible—make the lives of 365 millions of black, brown and yellow human beings miserable and serf-like, so that by degrees they dwindle and die out, are we so sure that we can plant in their places an European population which will prove as suitable to climate and surroundings? . . . It is very doubtful whether the white man can exist there in large numbers . . . and whether he can suffice for the agriculture and the mass of the work of development. . . . We must, therefore, protect, educate, uplift and encourage the aboriginal population."

Thus spake Sir Harry Johnston at the Annual Meeting of the Anti Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society on April 23rd, 1914. Although Sir Harry accuses "most white men" of looking upon coloured mankind as "helots" whose rights and feelings need not be considered, it is pretty evident that for all practical purposes only "our pioneers of colonisation" can be meant—those who have been in the past and are now actually treating the coloured races in this manner; those who have been and still are waging war upon them to which they cannot reply upon "anything like equal terms"; those who, "consciously or unconsciously," perpetrate cruelties against them.

The phrase "most white men" can only refer to shareholders who do not despie dividends made by torturing innocent human beings in a manner the world had never known before—to a ruling class which has filched the lands of nearly half the coloured peoples, and under whose sway slavery is increasing and millions have already been forced into reserves and compounds. But for an Imperialist to accuse his fellows of disregarding the natives' rights and feelings is not only an extremely grotesque case of hypot calling ye kettle black, but also betrays him for the ignoramus and humbug that he is. For none other would suggest that a civilisation based on the right of might, and into the range of which the "backward peoples" must be brought by fire and sword, is compatible with maintaining the rights and considering the feelings of the weaker.

How, indeed, would our Imperialists establish their civilisation in the colonies if the natives there were to retain their rights to their land? What would become of capitalist enterprise, and where should the supply of labour come from, if the natives' rights to the unrestricted use of all nature's gifts as means of subsistence, were to remain unchallenged? Is it possible that a policy of scrupulously respecting the feelings of the natives in the matter of industry, and mere theoretic teaching and encouragement, could solve the "labour problem"? Would it not be a calamity striking at the very roots of civilisation, and making all commerce and progress impossible, if the natives were at liberty to cease work when they had produced enough to "provide their own inary and very primitive requirements of subsistence"? Where would their Workshops' profit and dividend come in?

In fact, as the recent commission upon native labour in East Africa pointed out, the main contention of the planters there is that there is an ample supply of labour in the Protectorate, and that the only difficulty in the way of making them emerge in sufficient numbers to work for the white man, is the comparative affluence

which they still enjoy. It was, therefore, and is still, constantly being urged, that the natives should be forced out of their already small reserves (in the South African Province of the Transvaal, for example, 1,000,000 natives have been assigned to some 500,000 morgen of land which they can call their own, while 31,000,000 morgen are in the possession of 300,000 whites!) or that taxation should be so increased as to force them to spend a larger portion of the year in labouring for the white settlers; it is suggested that they should do their share of work for the Government; that they should be compelled to wear clothes in order that they should be forced to buy such things, etc., etc.

No, the "labour problem" in the Colonies can only be solved by further encroachment upon the rights and liberties of the native (aboriginal) populations, and the solution must carry with it the character of encroachment even if effected indirectly by the gradual economic development.

How-ever much some Nagraophile capitalist souls may pretend to regret the violation of the coloured people's rights and feelings, and however much they may claim to be anxious to see the same glorious triumph which civilisation has resulted in at home, where all "rights" are perfectly safe and all feelings scrupulously considered, it is evident that the natives' salvation is unavoidably bound up with hardship and suffering in the beginning.

All who recognise the great gulf that separates the primitive coloured man from the highly advanced whites must see that the former, in the very interests of his uplifting, cannot be trusted to the same extent, and left to enjoy the same privileges, as the "high standing" modern working class. Just as their right to their land cannot possibly be maintained, so their well-known and deeply deplored "right to be lazy" must be infringed!

If the civilised worker, as the result and reward of centuries of "education and advancement," has acquired the privilege in question, and can be relied upon not to abuse it, it is inconceivable that the granting of a similar right in these Colonies could in any way make civilisation a reality amongst the uncultured and retrograde peoples. Could anyone seriously entertain the idea that without infringing their "right to be lazy," these simple minded people would develop anything approaching the prodigious industriousness of the modern working class? Does not the very existence of the "labour problem" in many Colonies show that "education" and "uplifting" have not hitherto so far advanced things as to bring about this highly desirable result?

The members of the modern working class, so far from abusing their privilege, jealously dispute with each other, not only locally, but nationally, for what are vulgarly called "the jobs on hand," and from their repeated applications for the "right to work," it cannot be doubted that they are looking forward to a time of still greater activity. Is not the claim of the whole working class "more work"?

Just at present the prodigious industry, coupled with the most rigorous abstinence, of the European working class, has once again literally overwhelmed their masters, and in their endeavours to find new outlets and "work for all," a deadly conflict for the right to do the work of the world in future has arisen. It is, indeed, at such stagnant periods that the complete triumph of civilisation is most glaringly demonstrated, because rather than relax their pace of toil, or partake more liberally of the fruits of their labour, they submit to a wholesale destruction, not only of an enormous mass of stored-up wealth, but even of productive human forces.

But while the modern working class, in all these things, as a result of their "culture" and age-long "education," see eye to eye with their masters; while they again and again justify the masters' implicit trust, and in spite of all temptations, do not deviate from the path of virtue, and from serving the Lord God Capital, it cannot reasonably be suggested that the ideas of "uncultured backward" people would coincide with the conceptions of a modern master. After all, a high civilisation such as "ours" presupposes an all embracing "system of education," and last but not least, of religion, such as Christianity. Whereas the modern workers, in obedience to their lords' and masters' command,

"set themselves at variance against one another" rather than relax their ever increasing productivity or consume more than one eighth to one third of the fruits of their labour, thus periodically leading their masters to the embarrassing problem of how to dispose of the surplus; whereas, in short, the majority of the working class fully come up to the expectations of their masters, it would be most unreasonable to trust savages with the same privileges as are enjoyed at home.

These "helots," after having for centuries laboured under the wicked conception that the sole purpose of all natural resources was to serve as means of subsistence, and who were consequently accustomed to consume the whole of the fruits of their labour (think of the horror!)—these sinful people, who never dreamt that mother earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, can hardly be rid of their impossible notions, and converted into useful and "profitable" units, by the persuasive efforts of the Lord's chosen servants alone—indeed, corporal punishment has been found a far more efficient means of curing obstinate reluctance to acknowledge the supreme authority and laws of God—Capital.

If one thing emerges more strikingly than another from the history of the efforts by which the capitalist class has worked out its plan, it is that the capitalist class has been and are being brought into the range of modern civilisation, it is the fact that the fundamental condition of such enterprises is the expropriation of the mass of the people from the land and their conversion into wage workers. The much-vanted "education of the savage races" is really only a high-sounding phrase used by some to hide this awkward fact of expropriation. We only need again refer to the obstinate resistance which the "aggressive advance" (the term is in itself significant) of "civilisation" meets everywhere on the part of the aboriginal populations, and to the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of workers, to illustrate this fact. Deprivation of free access to the means of subsistence is, in fact, the only way to convert free men into wage slaves; and the existence of such a "labour problem" merely proves, as has been pointed out, that the separation of the natives from their own conditions of labour and their root, the soil, is not yet successfully effected, in other words, that the impoverishment of the people is not yet complete. In the eyes of our Imperialists, such countries are, of course, in a very backward and uncivilised state, and "education and culture" must be improved therein. No one in his senses would ever associate a "high civilisation," such as we find at home, with a similar "labour problem"; quite the contrary, complete (capitalist) civilisation is unthinkable without a permanent reserve army clamouring for "the right to work."

The lesson is obvious and should not be lost upon the modern working class, who labour under the delusion that they still have "a stake in the country." It is that "civilisation" presupposes the completed expropriation of the mass of the people from the land and the means of wealth production.

But it is by no means necessary to go to the Colonies to discover the basis of "our civilisation." Does not the fact stare one constantly in the face that the people have been deprived of their heritage? What other explanation is there for the "terrible social difficulties" and stupid anomalies surrounding us? What other cause is there of this awful and degrading poverty in the midst of plenty? What else could turn every technical progress into a calamity? What other factor could turn every labour saving device into a means of increasing the unemployment and poverty of the many? Is it, or is it not, the fact that the few (the capitalist class) have confiscated the land and the instruments of wealth production, and that they allow these things to be used only when it suits their interests—their pockets?

Never was there, consequently, a more barefaced, hypocritical cry than the present appeal to the workers to take up arms in defence of "their country." Why, Lloyd George himself told an audience in Bedford last year that "most of the land of Britain is in the hands of very few persons." He went on: "I should say it is in the hands of something like half of the population of Bedford." He pointed out, speaking of the agricultural workmen (and his remarks

obviously apply equally to all other workers) that "he no longer had a stake in the country, . . . and that he had been converted from a contented, well fed, in dependent peasant to a hopeless, underpaid, landless drudge on the soil, whose wages are less to-day than they were, in proportion to their purchasing capacity, in the reign of Henry VIII! Where has the land gone?" the speaker asked. "Stolen!" Lord-Lord Parliaments have annexed Naboth's vineyard."

Thus we see that the policy of colonisation that is being carried out before our eyes and has been described in these columns—the robbery of the land from the native and the destruction of his own means of living—is nothing more or less than the policy which has successfully reduced us—"the heirs of civilisation"—to a class of wage-slaves labouring our whole lives in poverty in order that others may enjoy lives of riotous luxury.

Even a Liberal minister, when it suits his party purpose, can tell us truths about our present position, but dare not admit the obvious universality of this practice wherein the whole of labouring mankind is being more and more completely reduced to a condition of abject economic slavery; but the workers cannot for ever remain duped. They will realize the fact that the fate of their black brothers is their own fate, that the causes which have reduced them to slavery are reducing their black brothers to slavery.

The white labourer, like the black, is forced to toil for capitalist profit by force or fraud, and it is more than ever clearly true that the working class of all countries are the wage-slaves of a class that makes its country synonymous solely with its profit. This all-important fact the workers must end by seeing clearly, and then they will stand surely together as one man or the freedom of humanity, by the overthrow of this world-wide capitalist class. This must be so, for economic development fights for us and, to use again the well-worn but fundamentally true words of Marx, the workers have nothing to lose but their chains, while they have a world to win.

FRANK.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

RECEIVED—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

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"SOCIALISM

PERTRUS

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.O.R.

AND

Mr SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective

Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

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S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 A. Barker	C. Elliott	A. Wallis	D. B. Campbell
" "	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy	F. Vickers	T. W. Lobb
Clapton, N., Kensington Rd.	7.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Reynolds	G. Seech	A. Kohn
Edmonton Green	7.30 R. Reynolds	J. Ward	A. W. Pearson	S. Blake
Finbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	C. Baggett	C. Elliott	A. Anderson
Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle	11.30 B. Young	T. W. Lobb	A. Jacobs	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Brown	B. Young	A. Barker	A. W. Pearson
Pockham Triangle	7.30 D. B. Campbell	J. Fitzgerald	D. B. Campbell	A. Wallis
Tooting Broadway	11.30 E. Lake	A. Barker	C. Baggett	H. Joy
" "	7.30 H. Joy	A. Kohn	B. Young	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Wallis	A. W. Pearson	H. Joy	R. Reynolds
" "	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Anderson	G. Seech	C. Baggett
Victoria Park	11.30 C. Elliott	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	C. Elliott
Walham Green Church	7.30 C. Baggett	D. B. Campbell	R. Reynolds	B. Young
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	7.30 A. Jacobs	G. Seech	T. W. Lobb	J. Fitzgerald
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 J. Ward	A. Wallis	J. Brown	J. Ward
" "	7.30 J. Ward	F. Vickers	J. Ward	J. Ward

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

NOTE—Owing to various circumstances, including the peculiarly British sense of fair play of our opponents, the Party's Lecture List is considerably curtailed this month. Other Meetings, however, will be arranged from time to time.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

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GRAVESEND.—Secy. Geo. Richman, 3 Cooper's Row, Northfleet.

ILFORD.—"Secretary," 119 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30

KILBURN.—Secretary, c/o H. Keen, 65 Southam-st., W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 104 Malvern-rd., W. Kilburn.

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NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

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STOKE NEWINGTON.—Sec., 36, Brownlow-road, Queens-rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons. 8.15 at 108, Farleigh-rd. Other Mons. lectures and discussion.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlia-rd Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave, Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 460, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

MANIFESTO

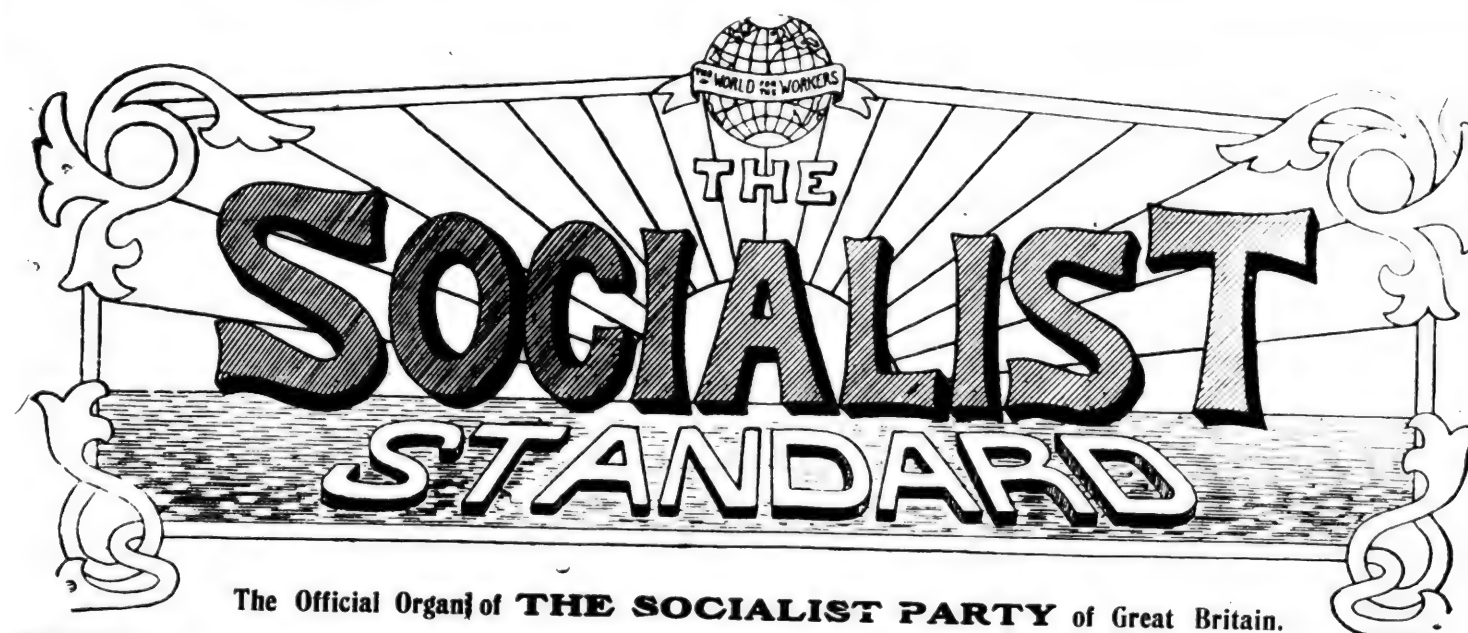
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No. 124. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, DECEMBER, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE REAL FOE.

FELLOW Members of the Working Class,—

Month after month the war goes on : nation after nation is drawn into the maelstrom's vortex. To the original combatants have now been added Portugal and Turkey, while Italy is arming and Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania are palpitating with the all-pervading blood-lust. Thus the "European War" assumes the character of a world struggle.

Meanwhile the million men Kitchener asked for at first have become inadequate. The war having developed into a "fortress war," in which practically every available man and boy capable of carrying a gun, among a population of one hundred and twenty millions, is forced to add his body as a handful of clay to the ramparts about countries which belong to his exploiters, a torrent of blood is needed to flood the "enemy" from their trenches. Hence every "fit" man in these islands is required for the butcher's job. What a spectacle International Capitalism is preparing!

With such a deluge of blood imminent, with such a colossal avalanche of suffering about to be let loose upon the world, it is pertinent to ask again, as we have asked before, what and whose mighty interest is worth such butchery, such prodigal wasting of precious life, such maiming of strong, shapely and eminently useful bodies, such wrecking of virile minds, such hopeless ruin and black devastation as is being spread over the fairest parts of the earth.

Those who call you to battle give many reasons why you should go. They talk of patriotism who wring fortunes out of the provision of shoddy khaki and rotten boots to the men upon whose boots and clothing the result of the war may ultimately depend ; they talk of the rights of small States who applauded the Jameson raid ; they talk of the sanctity of the bond who flouted the provisions of the "Railwaymen's Charter" ; they talk of honour whose word swindled electorates have many times found to be as bad as their bond. But in their most candid moments they, realising that none of these vaporous phrases will suffice to cover the reeking, quivering mass of human agony they know they are about to spread over the plains of Europe, proclaim that, whatever the cause of the war, the result will be the smashing of the most serious industrial rival Great Britain knows. To the discerning ear this hoped-for "result" of the war proclaims itself the war's real cause also.

If there is any sound argument in this for workingmen of this country shooting their fellow-workers of other lands, it will be revealed by logical reasoning. The argument will not, however, stand logical handling from the worker's point of view. If we are to go out and shoot those who compete with us for work it is folly to go outside the country to do it, for our closest and most direct competitors are not the foreign workmen, but our fellows in the same street.

But the whole theory that the ultimate competition lies between worker and worker is false. The true competitor of the worker is machinery. It is advancing machinery which provides the unemployed, and will continue to do so tho' every German is wiped off the face of the earth.

That the masters' argument may be sound enough from the masters' point of view only proves the antagonism that lies between the masters and the workers. If German trade were captured, the profits yielded by that trade to German exploiters might pass into British pockets—but not your pockets. Your masters might wax fatter than ever, but at once they would begin to devise ways and means for enabling the extra wealth they had found a market for to be produced by fewer workers. As wages rose consequent upon the greater demand for workers, the advantages of the use of machinery would be extended ; the use of more and improved machinery would follow, with inevitable displacement of workers. This is how the unemployed army is produced, and no victories over foreign armies can alter that.

Since the ultimate competitor is not the German workers, but machinery, it follows that the real foe of the workers are those who own and control the machinery : the master class. It is their control of the instruments of production that changes those instruments from helpful agents to oppressive competitors, whose every improvement is fraught with dread to those who use them.

The banishment of poverty can never be secured by slaughtering wealth producers. The idiotic stupidity of butchering other workers can never improve the position of the working class of any nation. Only by ousting the master class from the possession of the instruments of labour (every improvement in which, under their control, is disaster for the workers) can those instruments be used to bring comfort, security, and happiness to all who labour.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Real Enemy of the Working Class is the Master Class. Workers, Unite !

OTHER "HUNS" AND OTHER LOUVAINS.

I.—THE BELGIANS ON THE CONGO.

THE two faces of the capitalist have been exposed in these pages times out of number, and in various forms. Once again this dual personage has become clearly visible to the merest observer under another set of circumstances.

We have of late heard the squalling of the Belgian capitalists and the officials of the Belgian State. So shocked and horrified were these tender people at the way in which the "brutal Germans" trod upon their sacred soil and destroyed some of their towns, that a deputation was sent to proclaim this sacrilege to the world, with a view to persuading the neutral powers to come to their assistance.

But the Socialist remembers that these capitalists wailing over their wrecked property and pretending to be so concerned about the poor Belgian workers who are being driven from their homes, are the same capitalists who, through their agents, ransacked scores of villages and towns, shot and killed thousands of men, women, and children who had never raised even a finger against them.

Before describing these barbarities it would perhaps be as well to briefly sketch the events that led up to them. If the reader wishes them elaborated he should read "Red Rubber," by E. D. Morel, to which book, together with White Paper, Africa, No. 1, 1904 (Oct 1933, 8jd.), the writer is indebted for the following information.

In the sixties and seventies of last century the great commercial countries saw enormous possibilities in the creation of new markets, arising out of notable discoveries by explorers in Central Africa, and each wished to acquire as large an outlet as possible for their own manufactures. The scramble commenced.

The discovery of the Congo Basin by Stanley was the most significant of all, and in this direction the late King Leopold II turned his attention. Having previously juggled successfully with Suez Canal and other shares, he had amassed a considerable fortune. He sent several investigating expeditions, consisting mostly of Englishmen and Germans (how strange!) assuring the world that his intentions were purely scientific and severely disinterested. To carry on this work Leopold formed a company styled "The International African Association."

This bloody and astute king capitalist played his cards like an expert. He became a member of the Aborigines Protection Society, and promised to support lavishly the missionary societies of England and America. He captured the British Chambers of Commerce by declaring that if the commercial communities supported his proposals the Congo trade would be open to them and would be exempt from all fiscal restrictions.

After a time the various powers became uneasy and jealous as to who should control this vast and rich land. Certain suggestions were considered with a view to placing it under international control. Then on the suggestion of the Portuguese it was decided to recognise the sovereignty of Portugal on both banks of the river up to a certain limit inland, to declare the river open to the world, and to place it under an Anglo-Portuguese Navigation Commission to which the accession of the other Great Powers would be welcome. After introducing clauses protecting traders against exaggerated tariffs, and for the protection of the natives (!), etc., the treaty was signed.

But Leopold had not been playing to the gallery for nothing, and immediately the treaty was denounced by the British Chambers of Commerce and the philanthropic societies. The British Government was accused of betraying national interests, and the Portuguese Government was accused by its bosses of a similar crime. France, encouraged by the clamour, became resolutely hostile, and Bismarck, on behalf of Germany, kicked. Belgium was now in an unique position, and received the reluctant support of the British Government, with a proviso to secure freedom of trade, etc. Bismarck's proposal of an International Conference was assented to, and was opened "in the name of God," on Nov. 25, 1884.

Fourteen powers were represented, and their first consideration was for the welfare of the natives! Such was the slimy cant and hypocrisy that we are told "the delegates, figuratively speaking, fell upon each other's necks and wept with emotion." They placed the Congo Basin in the hands of Leopold's company. Articles were signed to ensure the utmost freedom to all capitalists, and for the preservation of the natives, the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, and "the protection of all . . . institutions which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilisation." We shall see, presently, what these "blessings of civilisation" were.

On August 1st, 1885, Leopold notified the signatory Powers that the International African Association would henceforth be known as the Congo Free State, with himself as sovereign of that "State." Almost immediately followed a decree claiming all vacant lands as the property of the State. Another decree limited the rights of the native to the area upon which his hut was built, whilst another prohibited the hunting of the elephant "throughout the whole of the State's territory" (three-fourths of which had never been trodden by a white man). Then they commenced recruiting an army of the most savage tribes. These natives could either volunteer or were taken in raids. For every recruit of the latter order the State officer obtained a bonus according to the physical fitness of his captive. Male children were also taken and drafted to military instruction camps to be made soldiers in due course. Having secured and trained sufficient recruits they set out with a mandate from Christendom to exterminate the Arabs, who had up to then been trading with the natives. Their object was to obtain the vast stores of ivory and rubber in the Arabs' possession and to capture their markets. This accomplished, everything was clear for Leopold and his thieves' gang to commence business.

On Sept. 21st 1891 a secret decree was issued to the State officials in Africa, stating that it was the paramount duty of the Congo Free State to raise revenue, and "to take urgent and necessary measures to secure for the State the dominial fruits, notably ivory and rubber." Other regulations followed, which forbade the natives selling rubber or ivory to European merchants, and threatened the latter with prosecution if they bought these articles from the natives.

The merchants protested, and Leopold defined the position. Everything, he told them, belonged to the State—the land and the produce thereof. The natives were tenants upon State property. If they interfered with that property they were poachers; and whoever abetted them were poachers, receivers of stolen goods, and violators of the law. How simple and concise!

Other secret documents were dispatched to the Governor-General baiting him to do his utmost to obtain the produce from the natives, "sparing no means." A sliding scale was fixed by which officials were paid. The less it cost to obtain the goods the greater the bonus; the more it cost to get the goods the less for the official. In other words, the less the native got for his ivory and rubber the larger the official's commission and the more for the thieves on top!

One can pretty well guess the nature of the orders of the Governor to his subordinates, and of the subordinates to their subordinates. Here is a typical one from Commandant Verstraeten to the officials in charge of stations in the Rubi Welle district:

"I have the honour to inform you that from Jan. 1st 1899, you must succeed in furnishing 4,000 Kilos of rubber every month. To this effect I give you *carte blanche*. You have, therefore, two months in which to work your people. Employ gentleness at first, and if they persist in not accepting the imposition of the State, employ force of arms."

Here is an extract from another:

"Decidedly these people of Inoryo are a bad lot. They have just cut some rubber vines at Huli. We must fight them until their absolute submission is obtained, or their complete extermination."

Under this system £13,715,664 worth of raw produce was forced out of the Congo natives during the seven years preceding 1906 by the hirelings of this royal member of the Aborigi-

nes Protection Society and his confederates.

Let us now see how the rubber was acquired under the stimulus of bonuses and force. The information is furnished by Belgian and French traders (who, no doubt, felt sore at being outdone by the State monopoly), and travellers and missionaries. The most brutal act of the "German Huns" sinks into insignificance compared with some of them.

The procedure was by levying a tax on the villages and towns payable in kind, and State soldiers would be sent to demand payment—so much ivory or rubber as well as food stuffs—every week or month as the case might be. But let the eye witness describe. The following is an extract from a letter written as early as 1892 by a resident of Likini.

"The frequent wars upon the natives undertaken without any cause by the State soldiers sent out to get rubber and ivory, are depopulating the country. The soldiers find that the quickest and cheapest method is to raid villages, seize prisoners, and have them redeemed against ivory, etc. . . . Each agent of the State receives 1,000 fr. commission per ton of ivory, and 175 fr. per ton of rubber."

This, the reader will notice, was about a year after the decree urging the officials to secure the "dominal fruits." The bloody events that followed have never been surpassed. The following is from the diary of E. J. Glave, an "independent English traveller" who crossed the Congo in 1894-5. It appeared in the "Century Magazine" in 1896.

"Up the Ikelamba away to Lake Mantumba the State is perpetrating its fiendish policy in order to obtain profit. War has been waged all through the district of the Equator, and thousands of people have been killed. Many women and children were taken, and twenty-one heads were brought to Stanley Falls, and have been used by Captain Rom as a decoration round a flower bed in front of his house."

The following piece of information was given to the British Consul, Roger Casement, and is quoted in his report (p. 43).

"Each time the corporal goes out to get rubber, cartridges are given to him. He must bring back all not used; and for every one used he must bring back a right hand. . . . Sometimes they shot a cartridge at an animal in hunting; they then cut off a hand from a living man. . . . In six months, on the Momboyo River they had used 6,000 cartridges, which means that 6,000 people are killed or mutilated. It means more than 6,000, for the soldiers kill children with the butt of their guns."

If a soldier returned to his station without a sufficient number of hands to make up for the rubber he had not brought, he was shot by his superiors. A native corporal described how in one day he had brought 160 hands home to his officer and they were thrown into the river. Another individual testifies to a village (Katoto) being attacked. Many were killed, including women and children. The heads were cut off and taken to the officer in charge, who sent men back for the hands also, and these were pierced and strung and dried over the camp fire. On another occasion a large town was attacked; hands and heads cut off and taken to the officer. The witness said: "I shall never forget the sickening sight of deep baskets of human heads."

According to Roger Casement many had their ears cut off; also the native soldier, after being told "You kill only women; you cannot kill men," would mutilate the bodies and carry the sexual organs to the officer. In fact, in the Mongalla massacre of 1899 the agents confessed to ordering sexual mutilation. Consul Casement says that "this was not a native practice, but the deliberate act of soldiers of an European administration . . . and that in committing these acts they were but obeying the positive orders of their superiors."

In some cases when protests were made to the Congo Courts a mock trial ensued. Lacroix, one of the agents in the Mongalla region was thus held up, and he confessed to having been instructed by his superiors to attack a certain village for shortage of rubber, and to having killed in his raid many women and children. He said:

THE FORUM.

"DIRECTIVE ABILITY" AND OTHER BOGEYS.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

SIR,—Referring to your front page article, "The Capitalists' Directive Ability," in the "Standard" dated July, 1914, I respectfully beg to ask if you will make clear to me a few points on that subject. According to the above article your contention is: there is no such thing as directive ability among the capitalist class. Assuming that to be true, then it is essential there is no such thing as directive ability among the working class; in short, there is no such thing in existence.

Now I ask you what is *genius*? Herbert Kaufmann says: "Genius is a birthright" ("Reynolds," July 5th, 1914). In my dictionary, I read, "Genius: a man endowed with superior faculties." Now is it a fact that we mortals (both capitalist and slave) are born, each one different in calibre and disposition to the other? If you answer in the affirmative then you must admit that one individual can be born with superior mental faculties to his brother. There are men of the capitalist class who are certainly very clever, possibly through the splendid education their wealth enables them to procure, but there are also many men of that class who are confirmed imbeciles.

On the other hand, we have men of the working class who, through their own exertions, work their way to fame and fortune, while others, with an indolent disposition—certainly born in them—live to be led by the individual of sharper mental faculties. The reason I have quoted both classes is to disprove the theory that environment or condition make any difference. To make my meaning more clear I will deal with a few cases of what I consider come under the heading of directive ability.

I am very fond of chess, and though I am considered good, I am perfectly sure I should never make a "Dr. Lasker" or a "Capablanca." These eminent players were, I firmly believe, born with a natural aptitude for the game.

Then again, we have that famous composer, Giuseppe Verdi, who, though a poor man in his youth, became Italy's favourite composer.

Now I venture to say that few men still living have a theoretical knowledge of music equal to the well-known Major A. J. Stretton, M.V.O., R.M.S.M. Yet I think you will agree with me, with all due respect to Major Stretton, it is impossible for him to conceive beautiful ideas of melody equal to those of Verdi.

There are many instances which I could go on quoting. Take, for instance, our public schools. Are the scholars equally clever at drawing, arithmetic, and mechanics? No! one may develop into an eminent artist, the other into a brilliant mathematician, and where is the school without its "dunce"?

All this seems to show very clearly that genius does exist, and though, as you point out in your article, Lipton or Rockefeller may now be tyrants of the first water—which is evidently true—they must (unless they inherited their wealth) in the first place have possessed "Directive Ability."

RICHARD SHARMAN.

Our critic's letter is rather confused and misses the whole point at issue. The question, in reality, is not whether "directive ability" exists but, if it exists, who exercises it.

If our view is correct (and our friend has not denied it) that all the work of society, from the obtaining of the raw materials of production to the distribution of the finished articles to the consumers, is performed by wage workers, from the "unskilled" dock labourer to the highly skilled scientist, from the office boy to the manager, then obviously there is no room in production for the capitalist, and he is merely a parasite. His function is simply to hold shares or titles to a certain amount of profit; but he is in no way instrumental in the actual turning out of wealth. And it is with the production and distribution of wealth that we are concerned.

This is the position laid down in the article criticised, and our opponent has not attempted

to deal with our argument.

And now for the few isolated points or misconceptions of our opponent.

He sets out in the following confused and unscientific manner "according to . . . your contention . . . there is no such thing as Directive Ability among the capitalists;" then comes an unwarrantable assumption: "Then it is essential, there is no such thing as Directive Ability among the working class, in short, there is no such thing in existence." Why? No reason is given.

What "Directive Ability" actually is seems to be shrouded in mystery. It is the name given to something that is supposed to organise industry. In reality, however, modern industry is like a vast mechanism in which all the parts are interdependent and of equal importance. The ignorant, superficial and superstitious, unable to clear the cobwebs from their cloudy brains, do not see the natural interdependence of every cog in the wheel and have to imagine a mysterious master mind, like the god of the theologians, keeping everything in order.

Socialists agree that men are born with different faculties, but we contend that only under a system where economic security for all exists will it be possible for all to exercise these varying faculties to the best advantage. No matter what his faculties may be, the child of the working class has to find a job. He cannot pick and choose his job, but must take one of the first to hand, and from that day to the end of his life the continual struggle with poverty leaves him scant time to employ his faculties in directions that satisfy him, leaving out of sight the fact that the degrading and brutalising conditions that surround his childhood tend to strangle his finer feelings at birth.

Among the millions of workers very few ever "work their way to fame and fortune"; the vast majority work their way to early graves instead. Here and there, perhaps, one may have the good luck to struggle into a position of comparative security, but they who do so possess the particular faculties necessary for money making: the faculty to lie unblushingly, to work little children till they become almost imbeciles, and to take no thought at all for the much vaunted sanctity of womanhood and the family hearth. Our critic instances Rockefeller and Lipton who have made their own (!) fortunes. If he digs a little deeper and sees how they made their beginnings he will obtain ample proof of the truth of our remarks. The facts recorded in the article in question are in themselves sufficient to damn the characters of both the honorable gentlemen. We may also point out that both Rockefeller and Lipton started at a time when conditions favoured their undertakings. The large industries were just coming into being.

The remark that environment and conditions make no difference to individuals is obviously absurd. For example, why are the inhabitants of Equatorial regions indolent while the inhabitants of Temperate regions are energetic? Is not the outlook on life of a coast tribe different to that of an inland tribe? But take the references quoted. Where would Capablanca be were it not for the development of the science of chess, and Verdi but for the development of the science of constructing musical instruments and in musical technique? Probably in the same position as the embryonic landscape painter, born in the slums of some great city, never seeing the beauties of nature, but sweating his life away in a modern factory. Myriads of potential Verdis die every year unknown and unheard of.

Regarding the existence of dunces in schools that can safely be put to the credit of the capitalist method of educating the young, which makes no allowance for the natural curiosity and aptitude of children.

Apparently, judging from our critic's remarks, he considers genius and "directive ability" much the same thing. A glance through history will show that the fate of the genius has been anything but similar to that of the alleged possessor of directive ability. We will give a few instances in support of our contention.

James Thomson (author of "The City of Dreadful Night"), one of the finest of poets, was in early life a book-seller's hack, after which he spent his nights on the Thames Embankment,

Continued on p. 29.

THE POTTERIES.

All sympathisers with the Party living in or about Stoke, Fenton, Hanley, Crewe, and Newcastle-under-Lyme should communicate with

G. BANHAM,
8 NORTH STREET,
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME,

for particulars as to joining, etc.
The "Socialist Standard" and all other Party literature may also be had from the above.

STOCKPORT.

Will those sympathising with our principles living in or around Stockport communicate with

TOM SALA, 48 MAYFIELD GROVE,
REDDISH LANE, HORTON,

from whom all particulars as to joining etc. can be obtained.

CHISWICK.

Sympathisers in or around Chiswick who require information as to joining, etc., should apply to

GEN. SECRETARY, S.P.G.B.
193 GRAY'S INN RD., W.C.
from whom all Party literature may be had.

So the workers faced war conditions, and face

WEST HAM BRANCH announce that they are holding TWO MEETINGS on Sundays December 6th and 13th respectively at 7.30 p.m. (doors open at 7) in the WORKMAN'S HALL (large hall) Romford Road, Stratford. All welcome. Admission free. Questions and discussion invited.

Lead kindly light!

Parnell became the leader and idol of the Irish; and although as ignorant and superstitious as the workers he led, he inspired confidence and received a ready support. Many labour leaders resemble him in this respect, though they lack his audacity and courage. A working class not understanding their class position is the natural prey of these "Born leaders," whether the latter are conscious of the fraud and they perpetrate or not. Parnell openly boasted that he "led a nation." When differences arose over Captain O'Shea's candidature, he won over the rank and file by merely proclaiming, without evidence of any kind, that he "held Parliament for Ireland in the hollow of his hand." On these and other occasions he allowed his ambitious nature to be seen, and showed that he could stoop, as other capitalist politicians, to the usual political confidence tricks. The fact that Parnell was incorruptible and sincere did not make his cause genuine. There are politicians every party equally sincere, yet from a scientific standpoint equally in error. The workers cannot afford to waste time sorting out the conious frauds from the mere sentimental babblers. Their wisest course is to ignore the

The life of Parnell is a story of political acrobatics and trickery. Not one of the actors escaped altogether the defiling influence of the struggle for power. It is a permanent example, posing the trickery and cunning of capitalist politicians. Because Parnell's policy was effective, from the Irish capitalists' view point, every possible means were adopted to crush him both inside and outside of Parliament (Glasstone imprisoned him, sanctioned a mission to Rome with the object of using the influence of the Vatican to turn the Irish priests against him) and undermine his influence with the workers.

F. F

In conclusion, when the economic problem is solved for all men and we no longer crawl along on our bellies, the innumerable splendid minds that abound will no longer be stifled, but will be given the opportunity to develop to their fullest extent.

UNSCIENTIFIC EMOTIONALISM.

The widespread misery of workers in modern times has brought forward two main classes of people claiming to hold the remedy for the social evil. On the one side you have those who, horrified at the miserable conditions everywhere, preach brotherly love, a return to Feudalism, and similar things as a solution for the problem; on the other hand you have the scientific Socialists who, studying societies from the point of view of modern science, regard them as undergoing a process of growth and decay. Thus, instead of attacking the superficial relations in society, the Socialists concern themselves with the centre, the pivot on which the system turns, i.e., the method of producing and distributing wealth, the relation between the masters and the workers, because from this relation springs all the other relations that appear so prominently and make such a show.

Socialists recognise that the technical development (development of the tools) in society has made it possible for small groups to operate large masses of machinery and turn out vast quantities of wealth with a small expenditure of energy; and that these powerful means of production, if commonly owned, could be economically used for the turning out of only just that amount of wealth required for the needs of all the members of society, and to provide the necessary new means of production for the future. This would necessitate a comparatively insignificant expenditure of energy on the part of each, and leave a great deal of leisure for the cultivation of Science, Art, and so on.

The private ownership of wealth is not only uneconomical, but, owing to the fact that the ruling idea is the enriching of the owners regardless of the consequences to the rest, so soon as the wealth of the owners does not continue to increase, production slackens down, even though this slackening down is the cause of untold misery among the workers. When the ruling idea will be the comfort of all, production will be regulated accordingly.

This view of the "social question" has been forced into the minds of Socialists by the everyday facts of working-class life which they meet when performing their particular functions in the various industries of the world.

When our method of reasoning is applied back through history, we find that man's thoughts have always been governed by his inherited notions and the material conditions surrounding him; and as these conditions have centred around the obtaining of food, clothing, and shelter, so at each period of social history the more or less clear relations that were built up on this basis (the particular relations that existed at the particular time, between the various producers and distributors of the social wealth) have been reflected in the mind in a correspondingly more or less clear manner. After the break up of the early tribal communities society was split into various classes, and history since then has been the record of the struggles of each class in its turn to control society for its own advantage. When the progress of the method of producing wealth had reached a certain point the class in society that was taking the principal part in production, found the old laws (that were suitable to the existing governing class) placed a restriction on their further development. The problem of the removal of all these restrictions therefore constantly occupies them, and it is then forced home to their minds that the only solution to the problem of the removal of these restrictions is the control of society by themselves, and the alteration of existing laws to suit the new conditions. Just as at present the spectacle of the workers doing all the work of the world forces home to the minds of men the Socialist view that, if the workers produce and distribute all the wealth of society they therefore should own it, and reap the benefit of their work themselves, instead of supporting a group of idlers and good-for-nothings. The solution of the problem is contained within the problem itself. "Therefore mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve" (Marx).

This matter of fact view of the question is not palatable to the "Red Revolutionists," who like

a great deal of noise ("Full of sound and fury, signifying nothing"); and the soft-hearted and soft-headed, who think the problem can be solved by reverting to antiquated, out of date societies, and whose views of brotherly love cause them to raise their hands in pious horror at the misery they see among workers, and—thank God for his loving kindness in not placing them in a similar position.

The thinking human mind reasons from particular facts to general conclusions. That is to say, we form in our minds abstract pictures drawn from practical experience. The thinking faculty is an instrument for separating the world of things into groups and sub groups, according to likenesses and differences, in order to gain as complete a picture of the world as possible. For instance, the general picture we have in our minds of a horse (the idea of a horse) is derived from practical experiences of different kinds and colours of horses. Abstract ideas of all kinds are produced in the same way, by everyday experience. The difference between the scientific and the unscientific (who are typified by the emotionalists) is that the former recognise this fact and act upon their knowledge, while the latter (owing to the fact that this reasoning is done partly subconsciously in ordinary affairs) imagine the general conclusions existed first and from all time—that the "Idea" is the thing *par excellence*. The Socialists reason from the practical affairs of everyday life to general conclusions, while the emotionalists set out with a plan formed in accordance with certain abstract ideas true for all time (!) without taking account of the historical development of society. They try to organise society according to the Idea instead of recognising that the shape their particular ideas take has been formed by society.

The emotionalists and their followers play upon those latent ideas of equality that have lain dormant in the minds of human beings since tribal communism disappeared. Thousands of years of life under this form of society fixed in the mind of man these views of equality, and the development that followed, through Patriarchalism, Feudalism, and Capitalism, although it has driven these ideas into the background, has not eradicated them. During periods of revolution these equalitarian views are used as a bait to entice the mass of the oppressed to the side of the particular class that is struggling for supremacy. During the French Revolution these ideas gave the rising commercial class the slogan with which to arouse the down-trodden serfs to assist them in their battle. Their much-vaunted pleas for equality, however, were afterwards shewn to be the equal right to oppress, the freedom of capitalist enterprise from Feudal bonds, and the liberty of the wage workers to starve.

The emotional school, who come forth with their battle-cry of freedom and equality, are merely reproducing the old ideas of primitive tribal equality, instead of examining the constitution of present society and its historical tendencies, and thus arriving at the correct scientific standpoint. The introduction of private property broke up the old societies; with the abolition of private property, therefore, and the advent of Socialism, these ideas of equality will again have a chance to appear on the stage—but in fact, and not merely in imagination, and in a much higher form than in the ancient societies, owing to the marvellous development in the control of natural forces, or rather, the knowledge of nature's laws, that has taken place since those societies broke up.

The forerunners of scientific Socialism: Fourier, St. Simon, and Robert Owen—the first who attempted a scientific explanation of social problems—failed in their constructive efforts, and gave merely Utopian solutions, because (as Engels has so clearly shewn in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific") society had not yet advanced to that stage when it could exhibit its historical tendency, machinery being in its infancy, and steam not having yet shown its potencies for revolutionising production.

Once our way of looking at the matter (reasoning from facts and not fantasies) is recognised by the workers, they will no longer be prey for the supporters of capitalism with their metaphysical notions, but will see that there is only one hell about which to worry and that is the hell in reality, the hell of capitalist production

in which the wealth producers of the world already find themselves.

Those who adopt the sentimental attitude are of all types, and their views generally are of a very noisy character. The individuals of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Anarchist, the Syndicalist, the "Daily Herald" League (or Leagues!), and similar varieties, believe that the Social Revolution will come along to-morrow or the day after, if you will only kick up a row and run your nose up against police batons, bullets, maxim guns, and such "harmless" instruments of coercion. Others follow the showy method in other directions, as, for instance, the Party that at present goes under the name of the British Socialist Party. This party, not making a great show of numbers, followed the method of changing its name, thinking to emulate the proceedings of a conjuror. This same party recently came to the conclusion (after the failure of its policy of "Swell the ranks and never mind who enters! Let 'em all come, Syndicalists, Political Actionists, Anarchists, and any old rubbish, what matters so long as we get a crowd") that they had better consider the advisability of joining the Labour Party (very sound conclusion!) whom they have been denouncing for so many years.

Thus do the emotionalists gain a following and safely pilot them over to the enemy.

As for us who are members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, our ranks may not appear to grow so fast, we do not lay out our stock in fantastic and alluring drapery, but we deal with the hard facts of working-class life from the scientific standpoint handed down to us by previous workers in the same field. We know that in spite of the apparent slowness of our growth, underneath the surface our work is creating among the members of our class, the working class, a growing knowledge of their position in society, and the line along which to act to achieve their freedom. Only those who build, as we do, on the solid rock, can expect the edifice to stand. Those who build on sand will see their work continually obliterated. In any case we have every reason to be satisfied with our work up to the present, and that knowledge, combined with the spectacle of the continual downfalls (the reactionary attitude of all the self-styled "Revolutionaries" on the present capitalist war in Europe is the latest manifestation) of those who sneer at our attitude, will nerve us to still greater exertions in the future.

"For while the tired waves vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent flooding in the main.

"And not by Eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright!"
G. MOC.

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LYDDITE FOR THE FRAY.

HOW THE MASTERS LOVINGLY TREAT THE POLICE IN TIMES OF STRIKE.

"ONE of the elective auditors of the City of Leeds, who has been dealing with the expenditure of £30,000 on police and volunteer workers during the great municipal strike of last winter, has made public some details of the accounts. The maintenance of some 600 special police alone cost £22,000 including payments of £10,000 to various watch committees. Forty casks of beer, each containing 36 gallons, went into the New Wortley Gas Works alone and other orders given by the Gas Department were for 25,700 bottles of mineral waters. The total number of pints of beer ordered for the police was 4,954. A vast quantity of tobacco was consumed, the orders being for 141 lbs of tobacco, 134½ lbs of twist and Rounda mixture; 151½ lbs twist, Union Jack and Redbreast, 166 lbs of tobacco, 190 lbs Bond of Union. The cigarettes consumed ran into hundreds of thousands and over 1,100 cigars were supplied. A large number of luncheons were charged at 2s. each, and all sandwiches were paid for at 4d. each. Among the food orders are 13,475 lbs of roast beef at 1s. per lb. The games and recreations provided for the men behind barricades and police guards included footballs, darts, draughts and draught boards, cards, dominoes, and a gramophone. One account for towels, blankets, mattresses and other items is £444 14s. 6d., while 493 overalls and bed jackets cost £130. New suits of clothes were claimed by 141 men at a cost of £200."

VOLUNTARY (!) ENLISTMENT.

"It would be an admirable thing if all unmarried men between 18 and 30 without the manhood to offer themselves, were forcibly pressed into the Army and put into battalions where the kicks should be far more than the ha'pence."—"Daily Express," Aug. 20th, 1914.

THE MEN WHO ARE CALLED TO FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY.

"How precarious is the life of the London docker may be illustrated by the figures of the weekly earnings of a casual docker, which I take from that invaluable study, 'West Ham,' by E. Howarth and Mona Wilson. 9s. 11d. 18s. 8d., 5s. 10d., 33s. 9d., 30s. 4d., nil, nil, 5s. 9d., 28s., nil (the net weekly average being 12s. 0½d.) On an average day at the London docks, you will find a SURPLUS of at least 10,000 labourers. The scenes which are taking place every day of the week are only the symbol of the miseries that afflict these wretched victims of the industrial machine, of the degradation of character and of the waste of human life."—"Daily News," May 23rd, 1914.

THE THREE DIFFERENT FACES OF BEN TILLET.

Labour "Leader" and Friend of the Poor.
1st Face.—Writing in "Justice," June 15th, 1912, while the Transport Workers were on strike:

"The governing classes... have the habit of thinking of the worker as a slave and are prepared to kill him with bludgeon and soldiery if he dares to struggle with his chains... 300,000 children are wanting food and protection; 100,000 women are wanting support; 100,000 men are fighting for dear life and principle. Our fight is against the capitalists, who not only want to destroy our liberties, making slaves of us, but they would destroy our home and home life as they have done and are doing to the vicious beast of their malignant hate."

2nd Face.—Writing in "Daily Herald," Sept. 5th, 1914:

"Every able-bodied man must either fight or be ready to defend his country... The objection taken by very many intelligent workers is that... there are at least 5 to 10 millions of working-class folk in slum and starvation who could not be worse off by a German invasion or the Government of the most brutal

savages... These contentions are true, but nevertheless there is need now to protect the United Kingdom against invasion."

3rd Face.—Writing in "John Bull," October 10th, 1914:

"We must fight because the British worker has more of constitutional and democratic freedom together with social opportunity to guard than the enemies enjoy."

Comment would spoil the beauty of these three extracts.

THE CAUSE OF THE WORKERS' DISEASES.

"Professor Metchnikoff, the prophet of the microbe or germ theory on whom the mantle of Pasteur has fallen, recently lectured at the Royal Society of Medicine on 'Warfare on Tubercle,' in which he said that no remedy for tubercle had been discovered. Doctors know however, that the TRUE cause of tubercle is living in slums, unhygienic surroundings, sweated wages and the accompanying starvation."—Dr. Boyd Keown, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.F., in "Daily Herald," January 28th, 1913.

THE COWARDLY RICH.

"Paris is bearing up. Most of the shops and very many of the houses are closed and shuttered. The rich man has packed up his traps and with his menservants and maidservants, his oxen and his asses, the wife of his bosom and the children that are his, has slipped away, either southward, whither the Government has sped, or to the more peaceful watering places in the South Coast of England."—"Daily News," Sept. 9th, 1914.

BREAKING OF TREATIES.

"Russia has broken treaties in the past, so has England... There is not an important treaty of modern Europe but has been partially denounced, revoked or altered in times of peace. The treaty of Utrecht 1713, of Vienna 1814, of Paris 1850, of Prague 1866, of Berlin 1878, have in part or in whole been denounced. The Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris and the Batoum clause of the Treaty of Berlin were openly and frankly denounced and repudiated by Russia in her own sole interest. Let us all admit that Europe accepted the Russian denunciation."—Arnold White in the "Sunday Chronicle," Oct. 14th, 1914.

ATROCITIES.

"In the course of his letter of resignation, General Beyers made a bitter attack upon the British Government. It is said, he wrote, that war is being waged against the barbarity of the German. I have forgiven but not forgotten all the barbarities in this our own country during the South African war. With very few exceptions, all farms, not to mention many towns, were so many Louvains of which we now hear so much."—"Daily News," Sept. 22nd, 1914.

"Here is an idea for Lord Kitchener. Why not arrange to have all German prisoners whom we capture during the war sent over to England via the North Sea, in barges propelled from behind by tugs over the mine strewn area."—"John Bull," Sept. 5th, 1914.

"The British left wing have again covered themselves with glory... The forests of Chantilly should rank with the plains of Waterloo. The sterling work done in the shadow of these ancient trees will go down to history. Despite sentimental French advice they FIRED a part of the wood and slew the Germans concealed therein like rats as they scuttled forth."—"Pall Mall Gazette," Sept. 10th, 1914.

"The Zouaves and Chasseurs d'Afrique arrived in hundreds of taxicabs... You will hear with less revolt of the horror I passed earlier in the day, some 240 Prussians dead in one farm together, black and unburied. They were killed by shell fumes possibly, but had been bayoneted for double security."—"Weekly Dispatch," Sept. 20th, 1914.

LIBERALITY OF THE LIBERALS.

"Let us bear in mind what this war will do

for tens of thousands of young women is to rob them of their husbands, to create a loss which in many cases can never be filled, to alter utterly the meaning and the value of life for many of the bereaved. This is something we cannot pay for and no possible pension that we can devise can touch this main point. Is 7s. 6d. what a great and rich nation should offer to its women who will bear the real burden of the war? It seems to me that to ask this question is to answer it. I have not yet found a single person who attempts to justify the 7s. 6d."—"Daily News," Nov. 11th, 1914. (Article by C. Money.)

THE ALLIANCE OF LABOUR AND LIBERALISM.

"On what outstanding feature of domestic policy during that time (i.e., the last 8 years) has the feeling of the Labour Party been with the Opposition and against the Government? Was it so in the Trades Disputes Bill, Old Age Pensions, the Coal Strike, the Insurance Act, the Labour Exchanges, the Budget of 1909 or the Parliament Act? Is it so in the case of the Home Rule Bill, Plural Voting or Welsh Disestablishment? The fact of course is, that on every fundamental question of home politics, the Government has had no more constant supporters than the Labour Party."—"Daily News," Jan. 28th, 1914.

"They must recognise that the Labour Party was not a Socialist party. Many of its members had been driven into its ranks and still continued to maintain the closest possible connection with the Liberal organisations in their constituencies... The policy of the Labour Party has been deliberately to keep the Liberal Party in office."—"Labour Leader," April 16th, 1914 (reporting speech of Philip Snowden).

THE CASUALTIES OF PEACE AND THE CASUALTIES OF WAR.

"Peace hath her casualties no less saddening than war. There were for example, no fewer than 476,920 cases of disablement, and 3,748 men killed in seven of the principal industries of Great Britain during the year 1913.

"These figures are contained in the official statistics issued on Saturday of the working of the Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability Acts for last year. They may be compared with the British casualties during three months of the present war of approximately 60,000.

"The industries to which these figures apply were those connected with mines, quarries, railways, factories, harbours, docks, constructional works and shipping, and the army of workers in them number 7,509,353."—"Daily Citizen," Nov. 16th, 1914.

THE WAR AND THE FINANCIERS.

"This morning the public has before it the biggest and best loan ever offered for subscription. The British people are invited to find the money to the amount of £350,000,000. The finding of the money requires no sacrifice whatever... The return offered to the subscriber is exceedingly handsome... the yield being as high as 4 per cent... offered on the best security in the world... The war has brought the investor good... From both the patriotic and the financial point of view it is a magnificent investment."—"Daily Mail," Nov. 18th, 1914.

F. V.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

RECEIVED—
"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 A. Barker	C. Elliott	A. Wallis	D. B. Campbell
" "	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy	F. Vickers	T. W. Lobb
Clapton, N., Linsinghall Rd.	7.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Reynolds	G. Seech	A. Kohn
Edmonton Green	7.30 R. Reynolds	J. Ward	A. W. Pearson	S. Blake
Finbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	C. Baggett	A. Kohn	A. Anderson
Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle	11.30 B. Young	T. W. Lobb	C. Elliott	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 J. Brown	B. Young	A. J. Cobs	A. W. Pearson
Peckham Triangle	7.30 D. B. Campbell	J. Fitzgerald	A. Barker	A. Wallis
Tooting Broadway	11.30 E. Lake	A. Barker	D. B. Campbell	H. Joy
" "	7.30 H. Joy	A. Kohn	C. Baggett	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30 A. Wallis	A. W. Pearson	B. Young	R. Reynolds
" "	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Anderson	H. Joy	G. Seech
Victoria Park	11.30 C. Elliott	A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	C. Baggett
Waltham Green Church	7.30 C. Baggett	D. B. Campbell	R. Reynolds	C. Elliott
Walthamstow, Hoe-st	7.30 A. Jacobs	G. Seech	T. W. Lobb	B. Young
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 J. Ward	A. Wallis	J. Brown	J. Fitzgerald
" "	7.30 J. Wray	F. Vickers	J. Ward	J. Wray

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30.
THURSDAYS.—Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30.
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

NOTE.—Owing to various circumstances, including the peculiarly British sense of fair play of our opponents, the Party's Lecture List is considerably curtailed this month. Other Meetings, however, will be arranged from time to time.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BIRMINGHAM. E. Jesper, Secy., 74, Murdock-rd., Handsworth, Birmingham. Branch meets at Coffee House, Spicel-st., Bull Ring, 11 a.m. 1st & 3rd Sundays.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EAST LONDON. A. Jacobs, Sec., 78 Ercot-st., Mile End, where branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA.—All communications to W. Long, 13 Lambrook Terrace, Fulham, S.W. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m. at 295 Wandsworth Bridge-rd.

GRAVESEND.—Secy., Geo. Richman, 3 Cocpe's Row, Northfleet.

ILFORD.—"Secretary," 119 Second Avenue, Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3.30 p.m. at Empire Cafe, 13 Ilford Lane.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30.

KILBURN.—Secretary c/o H. Keen, 65 Southam-st., W. Branch meets Thursday evenings at 8.30 104 Malvern-rd., W. Kilburn.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.

MARLBORNE. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 7.30, at 82 Lisson-grove, W. Communications to Sec. at above address.

N. KENSINGTON. T. Hewson, Sec., 119 Tavistock Crescent. Branch meets Tues. at 8, at above address in basement.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sats. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portnall-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 185 Portnall Road, Maida Hill.

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets altn. Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—Sec., 36, Brownlow-road, Queens-rd. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd. Other Mons. lectures and discussion.

TOOTING.—All communications to Secretary, 127 Upper Tooting Rd., where Branch meets on Wednesdays at 8.30.

TOTTENHAM.—W. T. Tickner, Sec., 2 Spilsby, 14 Colsterworth Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open only Mon. evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. G. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis-rd, Walthamstow. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ve., Branch meets Wednesdays 7.30 p.m. at Johnson's, 112 High-st. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 460, Green St., Upton Park, where Branch meets alternate Mondays at 7.30.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain****HOLDS—**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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